

# Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics

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# LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS

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## I. GENERAL

A.H. = Anno Hijrac (A.D. 622).	Isr. = Israclite.
Ak. = Akkadian.	J=Jahwist.
Alex. = Alexandrian.	J"=Jehovah.
Amer. = American.	Jerus. = Jerusalem.
Apoc. = Apocalypse, Apocalyptic.	Jos. = Josephus.
Apocr. = Apocrypha.	LXX=Septuagint.
Aq. = Aquila.	Min. = Minæan.
Arab. = Arabic.	MSS = Manuscripts.
Aram. = Aramaic.	MT = Massoretic Text.
Arm. = Armenian.	n. = note.
Ary. = Aryan.	NT = New Testament.
As. = Asiatic.	Onk. = Onkelos.
Assyr. = Assyrian.	OT = Old Testament.
AT = Altes Testament.	P = Priestly Narrative.
AV = Authorized Version.	Pal. = Palestine, Palestinian.
AVm = Authorized Version margin.	Pent. = Pentateuch.
A.Y. = Anno Yazdagird (A.D. 639).	Pers. = Persian.
Bab. = Babylonian.	Phil. = Philistine.
c. = <i>circa</i> , about.	Phœn. = Phœnician.
Can. = Canaanite.	Pr. Bk. = Prayer Book.
cf. = compare.	R = Redactor.
ct. = contrast.	Rom. = Roman.
D = Deuteronomist.	RV = Revised Version.
E = Elohist.	RVm = Revised Version margin.
edd. = editions or editors.	Sab. = Sabæan.
Egyp. = Egyptian.	Sam. = Samaritan.
Eng. = English.	Sem. = Semitic.
Eth. = Ethiopic.	Sept. = Septuagint.
EV, EVV = English Version, Versions.	Sin. = Sinaitic.
f. = and following verse or page.	Skr. = Sanskrit.
ff. = and following verses or pages.	Symm. = Symmachus.
Fr. = French.	Syr. = Syriac.
Germ. = German.	t. (following a number) = times.
Gr. = Greek.	Talm. = Talmud.
H = Law of Holiness.	Targ. = Targum.
Heb. = Hebrew.	Theod. = Theodotion.
Hel. = Hellenistic.	TR = Textus Receptus, Received Text.
Hex. = Hexateuch.	tr. = translated or translation.
Himy. = Himyaritic.	VSS = Versions.
Ir. = Irish.	Vulg., Vg. = Vulgate.
Iran. = Iranian.	WH = Westcott and Hort's text.

## II. BOOKS OF THE BIBLE

### *Old Testament.*

Gn = Genesis.	Ca = Canticles.
Ex = Exodus.	Is = Isaiah.
Lv = Leviticus.	Jer = Jeremiah.
Nu = Numbers.	La = Lamentations.
Dt = Deuteronomy.	Ezk = Ezekiel.
Jos = Joshua.	Dn = Daniel.
Jg = Judges.	Hos = Hosea.
Ru = Ruth.	Jl = Joel.
1 S, 2 S = 1 and 2 Samuel.	Am = Amos.
1 K, 2 K = 1 and 2 Kings.	Ob = Obadiah.
1 Ch, 2 Ch = 1 and 2 Chronicles.	Jon = Jonah.
Ezr = Ezra.	Mic = Micah.
Neh = Nehemiah.	Nah = Nahum.
Est = Esther.	Hab = Habakkuk.
Job.	Zeph = Zephaniah.
Ps = Psalms.	Hag = Haggai.
Pr = Proverbs.	Zec = Zechariah.
Ec = Ecclesiastes.	Mal = Malachi.

*Apocrypha.*

1 Es, 2 Es = 1 and 2 Esdras.

To = Tobit.

Jth = Judith.

Ad. Est = Additions to Esther.	Sus = Susanna.
Wis = Wisdom.	Bel = Bel and the Dragon.
Sir = Sirach or Ecclesiasticus.	Pr. Man = Prayer of Manasses.
Bar = Baruch.	1 Mac, 2 Mac = 1 and 2 Maccabees.
Three = Song of the Three Children.	

### *New Testament.*

Mt = Matthew.	1 Th, 2 Th = 1 and 2 Thessalonians.
Mk = Mark.	1 Ti, 2 Ti = 1 and 2 Timothy.
Lk = Luke.	Tit = Titus.
Jn = John.	Philem = Philemon.
Ac = Acts.	1 Co, 2 Co = 1 and 2 Corinthians.
Ro = Romans.	He = Hebrews.
Gal = Galatians.	1 P, 2 P = 1 and 2 Peter.
Eph = Ephesians.	1 Jn, 2 Jn, 3 Jn = 1, 2, and 3 John.
Ph = Philippians.	Jude.
Col = Colossians.	Rev = Revelation.

## III. FOR THE LITERATURE

1. The following authors' names, when unaccompanied by the title of a book, stand for the works in the list below.

Baethgen = <i>Beiträge zur sem. Religionsgesch.</i> , 1888.	Nowack = <i>Lehrbuch d. heb. Archäologie</i> , 2 vols. 1894.
Baldwin = <i>Dict. of Philosophy and Psychology</i> , 3 vols. 1901–05.	Pauly-Wissowa = <i>Realencyc. der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , 1894 ff.
Barth = <i>Nominalbildung in den sem. Sprachen</i> , 2 vols. 1889, 1891 (²1894).	Perrot-Chipiez = <i>Hist. de l'art dans l'antiquité</i> , 1881 ff.
Benzinger = <i>Heb. Archäologie</i> , 1894.	Preller = <i>Römische Mythologie</i> , 1855.
Brockelmann = <i>Gesch. d. arab. Litteratur</i> , 2 vols. 1897–1902.	Réville = <i>Religion des peuples non-civilisés</i> , 1883.
Brunn-Sachau = <i>Syr.-Röm. Rechtsbuch aus dem fünften Jahrhundert</i> , 1880.	Riehm = <i>Handwörterbuch d. bibl. Altertums</i> ², 1893–94.
Budge = <i>Gods of the Egyptians</i> , 2 vols. 1903.	Robinson = <i>Biblical Researches in Palestine</i> ², 1856.
Daremberg-Saglio = <i>Dict. des ant. grec. et rom.</i> , 1886–90.	Roscher = <i>Lex. d. gr. u. röm. Mythologie</i> , 1884 ff.
De la Saussaye = <i>Lehrbuch der Religionsgesch.</i> ³, 1905.	Schaff-Herzog = <i>The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclo-pedia of Religious Knowledge</i> , 1908 ff.
Denzinger = <i>Enchiridion Symbolorum</i> ¹, Freiburg im Br., 1911.	Schenkel = <i>Bibel-Lexicon</i> , 5 vols. 1869–75.
Deussen = <i>Die Philos. d. Upanishads</i> , 1899 [Eng. tr., 1906].	Schröter = <i>GJV</i> ², 3 vols. 1898–1901 [ <i>HJP</i> , 5 vols. 1890 ff.].
Doughty = <i>Arabia Deserta</i> , 2 vols. 1888.	Schwally = <i>Leben nach dem Tode</i> , 1892.
Grimm = <i>Deutsche Mythologie</i> ⁴, 3 vols. 1875–78, Eug. tr. <i>Teutonic Mythology</i> , 4 vols. 1882–88.	Siegfried-Stade = <i>Heb. Wörterbuch zum AT</i> , 1893.
Hamburger = <i>Realencyclopdie für Bibel u. Talmud</i> , i. 1870 (²1892), ii. 1883, suppl. 1886, 1891 f., 1897.	Smend = <i>Lehrbuch der attest. Religionsgesch.</i> ², 1899.
Holder = <i>Altceltischer Sprachschatz</i> , 1891 ff.	Smith (G. A.) = <i>Historical Geography of the Holy Land</i> ⁴, 1897.
Holtzmann-Zöpfel = <i>Lexicon f. Theol. u. Kirchen-wesen</i> ², 1895.	Smith (W. R.) = <i>Religion of the Semites</i> ³, 1894.
Howitt = <i>Native Tribes of S.E. Australia</i> , 1904.	Spencer (H.) = <i>Principles of Sociology</i> ³, 1885–96.
Jubainville = <i>Cours de Litt. celtique</i> , i.–xii., 1883 ff.	Spencer-Gillen = <i>Native Tribes of Central Australia</i> , 1899.
Lagrange = <i>Études sur les religions sémitiques</i> ², 1904.	Spencer-Gillen b = <i>Northern Tribes of Central Australia</i> , 1904.
Lane = <i>An Arabic-English Lexicon</i> , 1863 ff.	Swete = <i>The OT in Greek</i> , 3 vols. 1893 ff.
Lang = <i>Myth, Ritual, and Religion</i> ⁴, 2 vols. 1899.	Tylor (E. B.) = <i>Primitive Culture</i> ³, 1891 [¹1903].
Lepsius = <i>Denkmäler aus Aegypten u. Aethiopien</i> , 1849–60.	Ueberweg = <i>Hist. of Philosophy</i> , Eng. tr., 2 vols. 1872–74.
Lichtenberger = <i>Encyc. des sciences religieuses</i> , 1876.	Weber = <i>Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud u. verwandten Schriften</i> ², 1897.
Lidzbarski = <i>Handbuch der nordsem. Epigraphik</i> , 1898.	Wiedemann = <i>Die Religion der alten Aegypter</i> , 1890 [Eng. tr., revised, <i>Religion of the Anc. Egyptians</i> , 1897].
McCurdy = <i>History, Prophecy, and the Monuments</i> , 2 vols. 1894–96.	Wilkinson = <i>Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians</i> , 3 vols. 1878.
Muir = <i>Orig. Sanskrit Texts</i> , 1858–72.	Zunz = <i>Dic gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden</i> ², 1892.
Mnss-Arnolt = <i>A Concise Dict. of the Assyrian Language</i> , 1894 ff.	

2. Periodicals, Dictionaries, Encyclopædias, and other standard works frequently cited.

<i>AA</i> = Archiv für Anthropologie.	<i>ASG</i> = Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
<i>AAOJ</i> = American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal.	<i>ASoc</i> = L'Année Sociologique.
<i>ABAW</i> = Abhandlungen d. Berliner Akad. d. Wissenschaften.	<i>ASWI</i> = Archaeological Survey of W. India.
<i>AE</i> = Archiv für Ethnographie.	<i>AZ</i> = Allgemeine Zeitung.
<i>AEG</i> = Assyr. and Eng. Glossary (Johns Hopkins University).	<i>BAG</i> = Beiträge zur alten Geschichte.
<i>AGG</i> = Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.	<i>BASS</i> = Beiträge zur Assyriologie u. sem. Sprachwissenschaft (edd. Delitzsch and Haupt).
<i>AGPh</i> = Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie.	<i>BCH</i> = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
<i>AHR</i> = American Historical Review.	<i>BE</i> = Bureau of Ethnology.
<i>AHT</i> = Ancient Hebrew Tradition (Hommel).	<i>BG</i> = Bombay Gazetteer.
<i>APh</i> = American Journal of Philology.	<i>BJ</i> = Bellum Judaicum (Josephus).
<i>AJPs</i> = American Journal of Psychology.	<i>BL</i> = Bampton Lectures.
<i>AJRPE</i> = American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education.	<i>BLE</i> = Bulletin de la Littérature Ecclésiastique.
<i>AJSL</i> = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.	<i>BOR</i> = Bab. and Oriental Record.
<i>AJTh</i> = American Journal of Theology.	<i>BS</i> = Bibliotheca Sacra.
<i>AMG</i> = Annales du Musée Guimet.	<i>BSA</i> = Annual of the British School at Athens.
<i>APES</i> = American Palestine Exploration Society.	<i>BSAA</i> = Bulletin de la Soc. archéologique à Alexandrie.
<i>APF</i> = Archiv für Papyrusforschung.	<i>BSAL</i> = Bulletin de la Soc. d'Anthropologie de Lyon.
<i>AR</i> = Anthropological Review.	<i>BSAP</i> = Bulletin de la Soc. d'Anthropologie, etc., Paris.
<i>ARW</i> = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.	<i>BSG</i> = Bulletin de la Soc. de Géographie.
<i>AS</i> = Acta Sanctorum (Bollandus).	<i>BTS</i> = Buddhist Text Society.
	<i>BW</i> = Biblical World.
	<i>BZ</i> = Biblische Zeitschrift.

<i>CAIBL</i> =Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.	<i>JAFL</i> =Journal of American Folklore.
<i>CBTS</i> =Calcutta Buddhist Text Society.	<i>JAI</i> =Journal of the Anthropological Institute.
<i>CE</i> =Catholic Encyclopedia.	<i>JAOS</i> =Journal of the American Oriental Society.
<i>CF</i> =Childhood of Fiction (MacCulloch).	<i>JASB</i> =Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay.
<i>CGS</i> =Cults of the Greek States (Farnell).	<i>JASBe</i> =Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal.
<i>CI</i> =Census of India.	<i>JBL</i> =Journal of Biblical Literature.
<i>CIA</i> =Corpus Inscript. Atticarum.	<i>JBTS</i> =Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.
<i>CIE</i> =Corpus Inscript. Etruscarum.	<i>JD</i> =Journal des Débats.
<i>CIG</i> =Corpus Inscript. Grecarum.	<i>JDTh</i> =Jahrbücher f. deutsche Theologie.
<i>CIL</i> =Corpus Inscript. Latinorum.	<i>JE</i> =Jewish Encyclopedia.
<i>CIS</i> =Corpus Inscript. Semiticarum.	<i>JGOS</i> =Journal of the German Oriental Society.
<i>COT</i> =Cuneiform Inscriptions and the OT [Eng. tr. of <i>KAT</i> <sup>2</sup> ; see below].	<i>JHC</i> =Johns Hopkins University Circulars.
<i>CR</i> =Contemporary Review.	<i>JHS</i> =Journal of Hellenic Studies.
<i>CeR</i> =Celtic Review.	<i>JLZ</i> =Jenäer Litteraturzeitung.
<i>CLR</i> =Classical Review.	<i>JPh</i> =Journal of Philology.
<i>CQR</i> =Church Quarterly Review.	<i>JPT</i> =Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie.
<i>CSEL</i> =Corpus Script. Eccles. Latinorum.	<i>JPTS</i> =Journal of the Pali Text Society.
<i>DAC</i> =Dict. of the Apostolic Church.	<i>JQR</i> =Jewish Quarterly Review.
<i>DACL</i> =Dict. d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie (Cabrol).	<i>JRAI</i> =Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.
<i>DB</i> =Dict. of the Bible.	<i>JRAS</i> =Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
<i>DCA</i> =Dict. of Christian Antiquities (Smith-Cheetham).	<i>JRASBo</i> =Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay branch.
<i>DCB</i> =Dict. of Christian Biography (Smith-Wace).	<i>JRASC</i> =Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon branch.
<i>DCG</i> =Dict. of Christ and the Gospels.	<i>JRASK</i> =Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korean branch.
<i>DI</i> =Dict. of Islam (Hughes).	<i>JRGS</i> =Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.
<i>DNB</i> =Dict. of National Biography.	<i>JRS</i> =Journal of Roman Studies.
<i>DPhP</i> =Dict. of Philosophy and Psychology.	<i>JThSt</i> =Journal of Theological Studies.
<i>DWAW</i> =Denkschriften der Wiener Akad. der Wissenschaften.	<i>KAT</i> <sup>2</sup> =Die Keilinschriften und das AT <sup>2</sup> (Schrader), 1883.
<i>EBi</i> =Encyclopædia Biblica.	<i>KAT</i> <sup>3</sup> =Zimmern-Winekler's ed. of the preceding (really a totally distinct work), 1903.
<i>EBr</i> =Encyclopædia Britannica.	<i>KB or KJB</i> =Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek (Sehredder), 1889 ff.
<i>EEFM</i> =Egypt. Explor. Fund Memoirs.	<i>KGF</i> =Keilinschriften und die Geschichtsforschung, 1878.
<i>EI</i> =Encyclopædia of Islām.	<i>LCE</i> =Literarisches Centralblatt.
<i>ERE</i> =The present work.	<i>LOPh</i> =Literaturblatt für Oriental. Philologie.
<i>Exp</i> =Expositor.	<i>LOT</i> =Introduction to Literature of OT (Driver).
<i>Expt</i> =Expository Times.	<i>LP</i> =Legend of Persens (Hartland).
<i>FHG</i> =Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum (coll. C. Müller, Paris, 1885).	<i>LSSt</i> =Leipziger sem. Studien.
<i>FL</i> =Folklore.	<i>M</i> =Mélusine.
<i>FLJ</i> =Folklore Journal.	<i>MAIBL</i> =Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
<i>FLR</i> =Folklore Record.	<i>MBAW</i> =Monatsbericht d. Berliner Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
<i>GA</i> =Gazette Archeologique.	<i>MGH</i> =Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Pertz).
<i>GB</i> =Golden Bough (Frazer).	<i>MGJV</i> =Mittheilungen der Gesellschaft für jüdische Volkskunde.
<i>GGA</i> =Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.	<i>MGWJ</i> =Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums.
<i>GGN</i> =Göttingische Gelehrte Nachrichten (Nachrichten der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen).	<i>MI</i> =Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas (Westermarck).
<i>GIAP</i> =Grundriss d. Indo-Arischen Philologie.	<i>MNDPV</i> =Mittheilungen u. Nachrichten des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
<i>GIrP</i> =Grundriss d. Iranischen Philologie.	<i>MR</i> =Methodist Review.
<i>GJV</i> =Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes.	<i>MVG</i> =Mittheilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.
<i>GV</i> =Geschichte des Volkes Israel.	<i>MWJ</i> =Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judentums.
<i>HAI</i> =Handbook of American Indians.	<i>NBAU</i> =Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana.
<i>HDB</i> =Hastings' Dict. of the Bible.	<i>NC</i> =Nineteenth Century.
<i>HE</i> =Historia Ecclesiastica.	<i>NHWB</i> =Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch.
<i>HGHL</i> =Historical Geography of the Holy Land (G. A. Smith).	<i>NINQ</i> =North Indian Notes and Queries.
<i>HI</i> =History of Israel.	<i>NKZ</i> =Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift.
<i>HJ</i> =Hibbert Journal.	<i>NQ</i> =Notes and Queries.
<i>HJP</i> =History of the Jewish People.	<i>NR</i> =Native Races of the Pacific States (Bancroft).
<i>HL</i> =Hibbert Lectures.	<i>NTZG</i> =Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte.
<i>HN</i> =Historia Naturalis (Pliny).	<i>OED</i> =Oxford English Dictionary.
<i>HWB</i> =Handwörterbuch.	<i>OLZ</i> =Orientalische Litteraturzeitung.
<i>IA</i> =Indian Antiquary.	<i>OS</i> =Onomastica Sacra.
<i>ICC</i> =International Critical Commentary.	<i>OTJC</i> =Old Testament in the Jewish Church (W. R. Smith).
<i>ICO</i> =International Congress of Orientalists.	<i>OTP</i> =Oriental Translation Fund Publications.
<i>ICR</i> =Indian Census Report.	<i>PAOS</i> =Proceedings of American Oriental Society.
<i>IG</i> =Inscr. Graecæ (publ. under auspices of Berlin Academy, 1873 ff.).	
<i>IGA</i> =Inscr. Graece Antiquissimæ.	
<i>IGI</i> =Imperial Gazetteer of India <sup>2</sup> (1885); new edition (1908–09).	
<i>IJE</i> =International Journal of Ethics.	
<i>ITL</i> =International Theological Library.	
<i>JA</i> =Journal Asiatique.	

## LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>PASB</i> = Proceedings of the Anthropological Soc. of Bombay.	<i>SBAW</i> = Sitzungsberichte d. Berliner Akademie d. Wissenschaften.
<i>PB</i> = Polychrome Bible (English).	<i>SBB</i> = Sacred Books of the Buddhists.
<i>PBE</i> = Publications of the Bureau of Ethnology.	<i>SBE</i> = Sacred Books of the East.
<i>PC</i> = Primitive Culture (Tylor).	<i>SBOT</i> = Sacred Books of the OT (Hebrew).
<i>PEFM</i> = Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Memoirs.	<i>SDB</i> = Single-vol. Dict. of the Bible (Hastings).
<i>PEFSt</i> = Palestine Exploration Fund Statement.	<i>SK</i> = Studien und Kritiken.
<i>PG</i> = Patrologia Graeca (Migne).	<i>SMA</i> = Sitzungsberichte d. Münchener Akademie.
<i>PJB</i> = Preussische Jahrbücher.	<i>SSGW</i> = Sitzungsberichte d. Kgl. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissenschaften.
<i>PL</i> = Patrologia Latina (Migne).	<i>SWAW</i> = Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akademie d. Wissenschaften.
<i>PNQ</i> = Punjab Notes and Queries.	<i>TAPA</i> = Transactions of American Philological Association.
<i>PR</i> = Popular Religion and Folklore of N. India (Crooke).	<i>TASJ</i> = Transactions of the Asiatic Soc. of Japan.
<i>PRE</i> <sup>3</sup> = Prot. Realencyclopädie (Herzog-Hauck).	<i>TC</i> = Tribes and Castes.
<i>PRR</i> = Presbyterian and Reformed Review.	<i>TES</i> = Transactions of Ethnological Society.
<i>PRS</i> = Proceedings of the Royal Society.	<i>ThLZ</i> = Theologische Literaturzeitung.
<i>PRSE</i> = Proceedings Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.	<i>ThT</i> = Theol. Tijdschrift.
<i>PSBA</i> = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.	<i>TRHS</i> = Transactions of Royal Historical Society.
<i>PTS</i> = Pāli Text Society.	<i>TRSE</i> = Transactions of Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.
<i>RA</i> = Revue Archéologique.	<i>TS</i> = Texts and Studies.
<i>RAnth</i> = Revue d'Anthropologie.	<i>TSBA</i> = Transactions of the Soc. of Biblical Archaeology.
<i>RAS</i> = Royal Asiatic Society.	<i>TU</i> = Texte und Untersuchungen.
<i>RAssyr</i> = Revue d'Assyriologie.	<i>WAI</i> = Western Asiatic Inscriptions.
<i>RB</i> = Revue Biblique.	<i>WZKM</i> = Wiener Zeitschrift f. Kunde des Morgenlandes.
<i>RBEW</i> = Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology (Washington).	<i>ZAA</i> = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
<i>RC</i> = Revue Critique.	<i>ZÄ</i> = Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache u. Altertumswissenschaft.
<i>RCel</i> = Revue Celtique.	<i>ZATW</i> = Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissenschaft.
<i>RCh</i> = Revue Chrétienne.	<i>ZCK</i> = Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst.
<i>RDM</i> = Revue des Deux Mondes.	<i>ZCP</i> = Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie.
<i>RE</i> = Realencyclopädie.	<i>ZDA</i> = Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.
<i>REG</i> = Revue des Études Grecques.	<i>ZDMG</i> = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
<i>Reg</i> = Revue Égyptologique.	<i>ZDPV</i> = Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
<i>REJ</i> = Revue des Études Juives.	<i>ZE</i> = Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.
<i>REth</i> = Revue d'Ethnographie.	<i>ZKF</i> = Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung.
<i>RGG</i> = Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart.	<i>ZKG</i> = Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.
<i>RHLR</i> = Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses.	<i>ZKT</i> = Zeitschrift für kathol. Theologie.
<i>RHR</i> = Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.	<i>ZKWL</i> = Zeitschrift für kirchl. Wissenschaft und kirchl. Leben.
<i>RMM</i> = Revue du monde musulman.	<i>ZM</i> = Zeitschrift für die Mythologie.
<i>RN</i> = Revue Numismatique.	<i>ZNTW</i> = Zeitschrift für die neutest. Wissenschaft.
<i>RP</i> = Records of the Past.	<i>ZPhP</i> = Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Pädagogik.
<i>RPh</i> = Revue Philosophique.	<i>ZTK</i> = Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.
<i>RQ</i> = Römische Quartalschrift.	<i>ZVK</i> = Zeitschrift für Volkskunde.
<i>RS</i> = Revue sémitique d'Épigraphie et d'Hist. ancienne.	<i>ZVRW</i> = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft.
<i>RSA</i> = Recueil de la Soc. archéologique.	<i>ZWT</i> = Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.
<i>RSI</i> = Reports of the Smithsonian Institution.	
<i>RTAP</i> = Recueil de Travaux relatifs à l'Archéologie et à la Philologie.	
<i>RTP</i> = Revue des traditions populaires.	
<i>RThPh</i> = Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie.	
<i>RTTr</i> = Recueil de Travaux.	
<i>RVV</i> = Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten.	
<i>RWB</i> = Realwörterbuch.	

[A small superior number designates the particular edition of the work referred to, as *KAT*<sup>2</sup>, *LOT*<sup>6</sup>, etc.]

p. 156. W. Warde Fowler's *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, 1899, well repays very careful study, though the writer of this article has felt obliged to dissent from his verdict on the ceremonies at the Pons Sublicius. Much valuable information will be found in Mannhardt's *Baumkultus*, 1875; Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie*<sup>2</sup>, 1844; and Taylor's *Primitive Culture*<sup>3</sup>, 1891. The literature on 'foundation-sacrifices' is cited in the text. Mrs. Gomme's work on *Traditional Games*, 1894–98, is full of suggestive material, which has been worked over by Haddon, *Study of Man*, 1898. Many references to other literature are given in Scherman, *Materialien zur Geschichte der indischen Visionssliteratur*, Leipzig, 1893, pp. 102–110.

G. A. FRANK KNIGHT.

### BRIEFS.—See BULLS AND BRIEFS.

**BRINDĀBAN** (Skr. *vrindāvana*, 'grove of the sacred basil tree,' *ocymum sanctum*).—A town situated on the right bank of the river Jumna, in the Mathurā District of the United Provinces, lat. 27° 33' 20" N.; long. 77° 42' 10" E. The place is held sacred as the scene of many adventures in the life of Krishna. It has been computed that there are as many as one thousand temples within the limits of the town, of which four are of special interest—those of Govinda Deva and Gopinātha, dedicated to Krishna, as a god of cattle and companion of the Gopi milkmaids; Madan Mohan and Jugal Kishor, representing him in his youthful and erotic character. The temple dedicated to Govinda Deva, built about A.D. 1590, is the most impressive building that Hindu religious art has ever produced, at least in Northern India. 'The body of the building,' says Growse (p. 241), 'is in the form of a Greek cross, the nave being 100 ft. in length and the breadth across the transepts the same. The central compartment is surmounted by a dome of singularly graceful proportions; and the four arms of the cross are roofed by a waggon vault of pointed form, not, as is usual in Hindu architecture, composed of overlapping brackets, but constructed of true radiating arches as in our Gothic cathedrals.' The design has suggested to some authorities the influence of the Jesuit missionaries which was considerable in the court of the Emperor Akbar. If this were really the case, 'the temple would be one of the most eclectic buildings in the world, having a Christian ground-plan, a Hindu elevation, and a roof of modified Saracenic character.' But it is most improbable that Jesuit missionaries assisted in planning a Hindu temple, and, as Growse remarks, there are earlier Hindu temples which display a similar design. Fergusson regards this as 'one of the most interesting and elegant temples in India, and the only one, perhaps, from which an European might borrow a few hints.' The temple of Madan Mohan is in a ruinous condition, and the idol has been removed to Karauli in Rājputāna. That in honour of Jugal Kishor was built in the reign of the Emperor Jahāngir, about A.D. 1627. Among the modern temples, that erected by the Seth bankers of Mathurā is one of the most remarkable. It follows the Madras style, with the lofty *gopuras*, or gate-towers, characteristic of the great fanes of Southern India. It was built during the years 1845–1851. It contains a *rath*, or processional car, of the god, an enormous wooden tower in several stages, with monstrous effigies in the corners, in which he is taken once a year in procession from his temple to a neighbouring garden, where a pavilion is erected for his reception (Growse, 260 f.). Every event in the life of Krishna is the occasion of a local festival, of which Growse (*ib.* 267) enumerates forty-six.

**LITERATURE.**—Growse, *Mathurā, a District Memoir*<sup>8</sup> (1883, ch. viii., where illustrations of the more important sacred buildings will be found. The Govinda Deva temple has been described by Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (1890), p. 462 ff.

W. CROOKE.

### BROTHERHOOD (Artificial).

[P. J. HAMILTON-GRIERSON.]

i. 'Relationship' in ordinary acceptation means connexion by birth or marriage. Accordingly, it is usual to describe blood-brotherhood, adoption, and the ties formed by sponsorship, fosterage, and the like as 'artificial relationships.' Nor, indeed, is this description open to serious objection, provided that we do not leave two facts out of sight—the fact that, in the process of their evolution, artificial relationships do not always follow the same course as natural relationships, and the fact that what seems artificial to us may, and often does, seem perfectly natural to uncivilized man.

We propose to treat the subject under the following heads:

- i. *The ceremony establishing brotherhood.*
  - (a) *Where blood is employed* (§§ 2–17).
  - (b) *Where blood is not employed* (§§ 18–29).
- ii. *Where the relation is due to force of circumstances* (§§ 30–31).
- iii. *The institution among the Southern Slavs* (§§ 32–43).
- iv. *The institution in Roman and Byzantine law and in modern Greece* (§ 44).
- v. *Where the compact is entered into with women, dead persons, supernatural beings, or animals* (§§ 45–48).
- vi. *What persons are bound by the compact* (§§ 47–48).
- vii. *What purposes are served by the compact* (§§ 49–50).
- viii. *What legal consequences flow from the compact* (§§ 51–52).
- ix. *General observations on the nature and history of the institution* (§§ 53–56).

- i. *The ceremony.*—(a) *Where blood is employed.*

2. Livingstone (*Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, London, 1857, p. 483) describes the rite as practised by the Balonda and shows us its most usual characteristics. 'The hands of the parties are joined . . . ; small incisions are made on the clasped hands, on the pits of the stomach of each, and on the right cheeks and foreheads. A small quantity of blood is taken off from these points in both parties by means of a stalk of grass. The blood from one person is put into one pot of beer, and that of the second into another; each then drinks the other's blood, and they are supposed to become perpetual friends or relations. During the drinking of the beer, some of the party continue beating the ground with short clubs, and utter sentences by way of ratifying the treaty. The men belonging to each then finish the beer. The principals in the performance of "*Kasendi*" are henceforth considered blood-relations, and are bound to disclose to each other any impending evil.' In some cases the parties drink one another's blood undiluted. Thus, among the people of Rubunga, the 'brothers' bent their heads, and sucked the blood from each other's arms (Henry M. Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent*, London, 1878, ii. 286); and a like practice prevails among the Rokka of Flores (A. Bastian, *Indonesien oder d. Inseln d. malayischen Archipel.* pt. iv. : 'Borneo u. Celebes,' Berlin, 1889, p. 65), in Syria (H. C. Trumbull, *The Blood Covenant*, London, 1887, p. 5) and Madagascar (W. Ellis, *History of Madagascar*, London, 1838, i. 187–188), among the Karen of Burma (R. M. Luther *ap.* Trumbull, *op. cit.* p. 313), the Wanyoro (J. A. Grant, *A Walk across Africa*, London, 1864, p. 271), and the people of Comana (Jean sire de Joinville, *Histoire de S. Louys . . . enrichie de nouvelles observations et dissertations historiques . . . par Charles du Fresne, sieur du Cange*, Paris, 1668, p. 94). Baldwin, Count of Flanders, reproached the Greeks with so far accommodating themselves to the manners of the barbarians, with whom they made alliances, as to drink their blood (*ib.* Diss. xxi.); and Tacitus (*Ann.* xii. 47 [Church and Brodrribb's tr.]) says of the Iberians and Armenians that it was the custom for their princes, whenever they joined alliance, to unite their right hands and bind the thumbs together in a tight knot; then, when

the blood had flowed into the extremities, they let it escape by a slight puncture and sucked it in turn. Further, Herodotus (i. 74 [Rawlinson's tr.]) tells us that, when they took oath, the Medes and Lydians made a slight flesh wound in their arms from which each sucked a portion of the other's blood. Among some of the Australian tribes 'the drawing and also the drinking of blood on certain special occasions is associated with the idea that those who take part in the ceremony are thereby bound together in friendship and obliged to assist one another' (Spencer and Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, London, 1904, p. 598; *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, London, 1899, p. 461). The parties to the rite drink one another's blood, or sprinkle one another with their blood (see below, § 49). So, too, in ancient Ireland, parties to a league are said to have ratified it by drinking each other's blood—a custom derived from the heathen, who were wont to seal their treaties with blood (Giraldus Cambrensis, *Typogr. Hib.* iii. 22).

3. Sometimes the blood of the 'brothers' is mixed with some other liquid—water, wine, beer, or spirits; and of this practice instances are supplied by the natives of Timor (H. O. Forbes, *A Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago, 1878-1883*, London, 1885, p. 452) and of Bohol (M. de Zuñiga, *An Historical View of the Philippine Islands* [tr. by Maver], London, 1814, i. 67; see also *Relation by Loarca*: 'The Philippine Islands,' ed. by Blair and Robertson, Cleveland, Ohio, 1903, v. 161-163), of Amboina, of Leti, Moa, and Lakor, of the Babar Archipelago, of Wetar, of Ceram, and of Tanembar and Timor-laut (J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluijk- en kroesharige Rassen tusschen Celebes en Papua*, The Hague, 1886, pp. 41, 396, 342, 446, 128-129, 284), by the Bali of North Cameroons (Hutter, 'Der Abschluss von Blutverwandtschaft u. Verträgen bei d. Negern d. Graslands in Nordkamerun' in *Globus*, 1889, lxxv. 1), the Balonda (D. Livingstone, *op. cit.* p. 488; H. Wissmann, etc., *Im Innern Afrikas*, Leipzig, 1888, p. 151), the Wanyamwesi (J. Kohler, 'Das Bantu-recht in Ostafrika' in *Zeits. f. vergl. Rechtsw.* xv. 41), the Kimbunda (L. Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Afrika in d. Jahren 1849 bis 1857*, tr. from the Hungarian by J. Hunfalvy, Budapest and Leipzig, 1859, i. 201-202), the Kayans (S. St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*<sup>2</sup>, London, 1863, i. 116), and the Scythians (Herod. iv. 70).

4. The 'brothers' do not always drink each other's blood. Sometimes they sprinkle it over one another (Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes*, pp. 598, 372; see below, § 49). It is smeared by the Karen over their lips (Luther, *op. cit.* p. 313), while the Wachaga wipe it on a piece of flesh, which each of the parties thrusts several times into the mouth of the other (Kohler, *op. cit.* p. 40). A somewhat similar practice is found in Uhehe (J. Thomson, *To the Central African Lakes and Back*, London, 1881, i. 243-244). In Uganda and Bukoba each of the 'brothers' dips a coffee-bean from a pod containing two in his blood, and presents it on the palm of his hand to the other, who must take it up with his lips (J. Roscoe, 'Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Bangua' in *JAI*, 1902, xxxii. 68; Kohler, *op. cit.* pp. 40-41). And, among the Kayans of Borneo, the blood of the parties is either mixed with some other liquid and drunk, or is rolled up with a cigarette and inhaled with the smoke (S. St. John, *op. cit.* i. 116).

5. At Mruli, a coffee bean (C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *Uganda and the Egyptian Soudan*, London, 1882, ii. 41); among the Swahili, a hen's liver (R. Niese, 'Die Personen- u. Familien-recht d. Suaheli' in *Zeits. f. vergl. Rechtsw.* xvi.

240); and among the Wazaramo, Wazeguro, Wasagara (R. F. Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Africa*, London, 1860, i. 114), and Masai (M. Merker, *Die Masai*, Berlin, 1904, p. 101), a piece of flesh, are eaten, smeared with the 'brother's' blood. Among some of the tribes to the south of the Welle, a piece of sugar-cane, with which the blood of the parties has been wiped off, is chewed and the fibres are blown over the wound. At the same time each 'brother' declares the motives which induce him to enter into the compact, and the obligations which he binds himself to perform, and imprecates evil on the breaker of the bond (W. Junker, *Travels in Africa during the Years 1879-1883*, London, 1891, p. 405; see below, § 56).

6. This last instance introduces us to the performance of the rite by way of inoculation, which in many cases takes the place of blood-drinking. Grant (*op. cit.* p. 108 f.) gives the following description of this form as practised by the Wanyamwesi:

'The process between Bombay and the Sultan's son, Keerenga, may be mentioned. My consent having been given, a mat is spread, and a confidential party or surgeon attends on each. All four squat, as if to have a game at whist; before them are two clean leaves, a little grease, and a spear-head; a cut is made under the ribs of the left side of each party, a drop of blood put on a leaf and exchanged by the surgeons, who rub it with butter twice into the wound with the leaf, which is now torn in pieces and strewn over the "brothers'" heads. A solemn address is made by the older of the attendants, and they conclude the ceremony by rubbing their own sides with butter, shaking hands, and wishing each other success. Ten rounds of ammunition are then fired off, a compliment from each of the four drums is sounded, and they parade the village all the afternoon. . . . An Uganda lad, the magician of the Sultan, made brotherhood with Rehan, the cook, by cutting marks on his chest and rubbing in the fat of lions.'

Similar usages are said to prevail among the Wajiji (Burton, *op. cit.* i. 114), on the Congo, and in other parts of Africa (H. M. Stanley, *The Congo*, London, 1885, i. 385, ii. 24, 29, *Through the Dark Continent*, i. 493; H. Ward, *Ethnographical Notes relating to the Congo Tribes*, 1895; *JAI* xxiv. 291; V. L. Cameron, *Across Africa*, London, 1877, i. 333).

7. In Scandinavia, men made brotherhood by letting their blood flow together in a footprint and mingle where it fell ('The Long Lay of Brunhild,' in *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, G. Vigfusson and F. York Powell, Oxford, 1883, i. 308), or by 'going under the turf,' a ceremony of which an account is given in *The Story of Gisli the Outlaw* (from the Icelandic by G. W. Dasent, Edinburgh, 1896, p. 23). We are told that Gisli and the three men who were to make oath along with him

'cut up a sod of turf in such wise that both its ends were still fast to the earth, and propped it up by a spear, scored with runes, so tall that a man might lay his head on the socket of the spear-head. Under this yoke they were all four to pass. . . . Now they bled each a vein, and let their blood fall together on the mould whence the turf had been cut up, and all touch it; and all afterwards fell on their knees, and were to take hands, and swear to avenge each the other as though he were his brother, and to call all the gods to witness.'

Several explanations of this curious ceremony have been suggested. In Jacob Grimm's opinion (*Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*<sup>3</sup>, Göttingen, 1831, p. 119), the 'brothers,' by placing themselves underneath the turf and falling on their knees, appear to indicate their abasement before the Higher Powers, and their solemn purification from the world. Konrad Maurer (*Die Bekehrung d. norwegischen Stammes zum Christenthum*, Munich, 1855-1856, ii. 170-171, 229) regards the rite as an ordeal of which the purpose was to secure the performance of the promises made. And this view seems to receive some support from the following passage:

'This was then the ordeal at that time, that men should pass under the earth-collar; that is, a turf was carved out of a field. The ends of the turf shall be fast in the field, and that man who was to undergo the ordeal should pass thereunder. . . . So was he cleansed who went under the earth-collar, if the turf fell not

upon him' (*The Story of the Laxdalers*, done into English by R. Proctor, London, 1903, ch. xviii.).

M. Pappenheim (*Die altdänischen Schutzgilden*, Breslau, 1885, p. 18 ff.), however, points out that this ceremony was used not only in making brothers and in ordeals, but in cases where an offence had been committed and the offender was required to humble himself by going under the turf, as a condition precedent to the acceptance of a composition. He holds that one explanation will not suffice for all three cases, and he explains the use of the ceremony in making brothers—the mixing of the blood with the earth—as symbolical of the common origin of the brothers. They are children of one womb—born of one mother, the earth (see also Vigfusson and Powell, *op. cit.* i. 423).

8. Muir (*Life of Mahomet*, London, 1858, i. p. ccxli) tells us that, in a dispute among the Koraish, the men of one party solemnized their compact by dipping their hands in blood, while their opponents dipped their hands in perfume and rubbed them upon the Ka'bā. Robertson Smith (*Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, new ed. London, 1903, pp. 57-59) says that at Mecca in historical times a life and death covenant was solemnized by an oath, each of the parties to which dipped his hands in a pan of blood and tasted its contents; and he expresses the view that these forms are variations of one and the same rite—the rite in which the contracting parties drank or tasted one another's blood. He shows (*op. cit.* p. 59, note 1) that in some instances water or fruit-juice was substituted for blood; and in this connexion it is interesting to notice Herodotus' (iv. 172 [Rawlinson's tr.]) statement regarding the Nasamontians that, 'when they pledge their faith to one another, each gives the other to drink out of his hand; if there be no liquid to be had, they take up dust from the ground, and put their tongues to it' (cf. W. Crooke, 'The Hill Tribes of the Central Indian Hills,' in *JAI* xxviii. 241). It may be that the practice of ratifying an agreement to take part in a common undertaking by shaking hands dipped in blood (Hector Boethius, *Scotorum Historiae*, Paris, 1526, lib. ii. fol. xviii b; cf. § 15 below), and that of drinking human blood, attributed to conspirators at Rome (Sall. *de Conj. Cat.* 22; Plut. *Vit. Publicole* iv. [both statements are regarded as unreliable by T. Mommsen, *Römische Forschungen*, Berlin, 1864, i. 332, n. 1]), and in China (Trumbull, *op. cit.* p. 43), are truly adaptations of the primitive institution of 'making brothers' (see below, § 15).

9. With the form of the rite in which the hands are dipped in blood Jacob Grimm (*op. cit.* p. 194) compares the dipping of weapons in blood, mentioned by Herodotus (iv. 70 [Rawlinson's tr.]) in the following passage:

'Oaths among the Scyths are accompanied with the following ceremonies: a large earthen bowl is filled with wine, and the parties to the oath, wounding themselves slightly with a knife or an awl, drop some of their blood into the wine; then they plunge into the mixture a scymitar, some arrows, a battle-axe, and a javelin, all the while repeating prayers; lastly the two contracting parties drink each a draught from the bowl, as do also the chief men among their followers.'

So, too, the Benuas, in making alliances or in taking solemn vows, 'dip their weapons into a mixture of which blood forms the principal ingredient' (T. G. Newbold, *Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca*, London, 1839, ii. 395). Lucian (*Toxaris*, 37), in his account of the Scythian form, gives the additional fact that the parties, having dipped the points of their swords in the blood, held them together. It would seem that this touching of swords signified the union of the parties; and this view is corroborated by the curious practice of scraping the spear-shafts and musket-stocks of the 'brothers' on a banana-leaf, and dropping these

scrapings, with a pinch of salt and a little dust from a pod, upon the wounds (Stanley, *The Congo*, ii. 24, 89; cf. Hutter, *op. cit.* p. 1 ff. as to the Bali of North Cameroon, and see § 13 below). It seems that scrapings of wood from the stool of a chief add strength to an oath (A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa*, London, 1887, p. 198). A similar explanation appears to apply to the ceremony of sword-biting practised by the Kanowit Dayaks. According to St. John (*op. cit.* i. 55), 'a pig was placed between representatives of two tribes, who, after calling down the vengeance of the spirits on those who broke the treaty, plunged their spears into the animal, and then exchanged weapons. Drawing their knives, they each bit the blade of the others, and so completed the affair.'

So, too, the Garos swear to observe peace by biting each other's sword, and seal the compact by putting food into each other's mouth and pouring beer down each other's throat (E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, London, 1872, p. 62). It is of interest to note in this connexion that the Norman lawyers explained the word 'wapentake' in reference 'to the formal recognition of the local magistrate by touching his arms' (W. Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England*<sup>2</sup>, Oxford, 1885, i. 96). This ceremony is described in a law of Edward the Confessor (c. 33) as follows:

'Ipse vero erecta lancea sua ab omnibus secundum morem fodus accipiebat; omnes enim quotquot venissent cum lanceis suis ipsius hastam tangebant et ita confirmabant per contactum armorum, pace palam concessa.'

Dn Cange (*Glossarium medice et infimae Latinitatis*, ed. L. Favre, Niort, 1883, s.v. 'Arma' [Arma mutare]) understands that it was thus that the subjects of the early kings of England made themselves 'fratres conjurati,' bound to cherish and protect one another and to join in preserving the kingdom from its enemies. G. Tamassia (*L'Affrettamento*, Turin, 1886, p. 32, note 2), however, cites authority to show that what is described is not an *armorum conjunctio*, but a *modus per strepitum concussorum armorum plebiscita condendi* (see Grimm, *op. cit.* p. 770 f.; Tac. *Germ.* xi., *Hist.* v. 15).

10. Sometimes the parties to the compact hold the ends of a forked branch, while one of them cuts it in two, or while a medicine-man draws their blood (Stanley, *The Congo*, ii. 88, 104). It is observed by C. A. L. M. Schwaner (*Borneo, Beschrijving van het Stroomgebied van d. Berito*, Amsterdam, 1853, i. 214-215) that, in the district of Borneo with which he deals, a third party hacks through the branch held by the 'brothers,' and at the same time pronounces imprecations upon the oath-breaker. In view of the whole circumstances, it seems not improbable that the act of holding had a twofold significance. In the first place, it symbolized the union of the parties (it had the same meaning as the contact of swords in the Scythian ceremonial), and, in the second place, it was a ritual act similar to the act of holding an animal while it is being slaughtered for sacrifice. An instance of this sacrificial ceremony is supplied by the Kumi of Chittagong. Among them, the parties to the covenant hold the ropes by which a goat is secured. One of their number stands over it, holding a fighting *dao*. He takes a mouthful of liquor from a cup and blows it over the parties and the victim. Then he raises his *dao* and invokes the river-spirit, while he pulls some hairs from the goat and scatters them to the winds. With one stroke the head is severed from the body, and the blood is smeared on the foreheads and feet of the 'brothers' (T. H. Lewin, *Wild Races of South-Eastern India*, London, 1870, p. 228). Among the Bali and the Dusuns, and in Shira (see below, §§ 13, 17, 21), the act of holding or touching the victim forms part of the ceremony.

11. Trumbull tells us of a curious Syrian form of the rite. The parties publicly announce their reasons for entering into the compact. These declarations are written down in duplicate; and each 'brother,' having smeared his copy with the other's blood, and having uttered the wish that the deceiver may be deceived by God, wears it suspended from his neck or bound to his arm 'in token of the indissoluble relation' (*op. cit.* p. 5 f.; see below, § 21).

12. Probably Grimm (*op. cit.* p. 194; cf. Livy, i. 32) is justified in referring to the notion of union brought about by an exchange of blood both the 'hasta sanguinea praeusta' of the Romans—the symbol of the declaration of war by a united people—and the 'Fiery Cross' of the Scottish Highlanders—the half-burnt stake dipped in blood which called the clans to arms against a common foe.

13. A group of observances in which the introduction of weapons forms a prominent feature seems to be susceptible of a different interpretation. Forbes (*op. cit.* p. 452) tells us that at Timor the contracting parties slash their arms, and collect the blood in a bamboo, into which *kanipa* (coarse gin) or *laru* (palm-wine) is poured. Having provided themselves with a small fig-tree, they adjourn to some retired spot, taking with them the sword and spear from the *Luli* chamber of their own houses, or from the *Uma-Luli* of their *suku*, if between large companies. Planting there the fig-tree, flanked by the sacred sword and spear, they hang on it a bamboo receptacle, into which—after pledging each other in the mixed blood and gin—the remainder is poured. Then each swears, 'If I be false, and be not a true friend, may my blood issue from my mouth, ears, nose, as it does from the bamboo!', the bottom of the receptacle being pricked at the same moment to allow the blood and gin to escape. The tree remains and grows as a witness to the contract. With this tree of witness Trumbull (*op. cit.* p. 316 ff.) connects—erroneously, we venture to think—the blood-stained 'Fiery Cross' and a similar symbol made use of in Southern Arabia (see A. von Wrede, *Reise in Hadhramaut*, Brunswick, 1870, p. 197 ff.; see above, § 12). It is not uninteresting to note that the planting of a tree, which, at Timor, is an accessory only, is, among the Karen of Burma, in itself constitutive of the bond of brotherhood (Luther, *op. cit.* p. 313). Trumbull (*op. cit.* pp. 266 ff., 316) refers in this connexion to the planting of trees in ancient Israel; but the Israelitish practice seems to be susceptible of an altogether different explanation (see Robertson Smith, *Rel. Sem.*, London, 1894, p. 185 ff.). What then was the purpose served by the introduction of weapons? It may be that it was the same as that of planting the tree; and, in support of this view, an instance from Madagascar may be cited. W. Ellis (*Hist. of Madag.* p. 188 ff.), in describing the ceremony of the *fatidrá* (a form of the blood-rite), says that 'to obtain the blood, a slight incision is made in the skin covering the centre of the bosom, significantly called *ambavajo*, "the mouth of the heart" . . . Some gunpowder and a hall are brought, together with a small quantity of ginger, a spear, and two particular kinds of grass. A fowl also is procured; its head is nearly cut off; and it is left in this state to continue bleeding during the ceremony.' The parties then join in pronouncing a long imprecation upon the oath-breaker, in which occur the following invocations: 'Oh the mouth of the heart! Oh the hall! Oh the powder! Oh the ginger! Oh this miserable fowl weltering in its blood!' And then follows the statement: 'If we keep and observe this covenant, let those things bear witness.'

Take again Hutter's (*op. cit.* p. 1 ff.) account of the ceremony among the Bali of North Cameroons:

It seems to consist of two parts—the making of 'brothers' and the making oath to keep the covenant. The parties, holding kola and pepper in their open hands, interchanged promises of mutual friendship and assistance. The kola and pepper were chewed and eaten, and the blood of the 'brothers' was mixed

with palm-wine and drunk by each. Then followed the second part of the rite. Bullets were produced, and, while imprecations were being pronounced upon the oath-breaker, a trench was dug. Each 'brother' pricked his arm, and the bullets, some scrapings of redwood, together with several fetish articles, human bones, and two bleeding human ears were thrown into the trench. It was filled up and a flat stone was placed upon it. Upon this stone a ram was slaughtered by one of the 'brothers,' while the others held it fast, its blood falling on the stone and trench. Some of the blood was mixed with wine in a calabash into which bullets were dropped; and the contents of the calabash were emptied out on the trench. Then the 'brothers' poured wine on the stone, they rubbed one another's arms and breasts with the wood, while words of magic were being said. Lastly, kola and pepper and horns of wine were distributed among the followers and attendants.

The view that the articles thrown into the trench and the stone placed upon it serve as 'witness' of the compact, derives support from the practice of the Chinhwae in making oath. They dig a hole in the ground, place a stone on it, throw earth at one another with loud cries, and cover the stone with earth; and by these acts they signify that, like the stone in the ground, their word or oath remains unalterable (Kisak Tamal, 'Die Erforschung d. Techinwan-Gehieter auf Formosa durch die Japaner' in *Globus*, 1896, lxx. 93 ff.). A very similar form of oath is found among the Bendowen Dusuns. According to F. Hatton's account (*North Borneo*, London, 1885, p. 201 f., cf. pp. 203, 207), the whole tribe assembled, and, the ground having been cleared for a space of about twelve yards, a hole was dug, a foot in depth, a large water-jar was placed in it, the earth dug out of the hole was thrown into the jar, and the old men called upon their god. A stone was then placed over the jar, and the old men declared by fire, represented by a burning stick, by water, which had been poured into the jar, and by earth, that they would be true to all white men. The divinity was then summoned by shooting an arrow into the air; and the guns of the Europeans were placed upon the jar, out of which each man took a little earth.

14. But weapons are not infrequently introduced into the ceremony for a different purpose; they are 'invoked,' that is to say, 'to punish treachery' (D. M. Smeaton, *The Loyal Karen of Burma*, London, 1887, p. 169). When two villages in Ceram wish to make friendship after a war, the inhabitants of one come into the other bringing gifts, and are entertained with food and drink. While they are eating, a large bowl of liquor is prepared. The elders add some drops of pigs' or chickens' blood; and the chiefs wound each other and let their blood flow into the liquor. The elders stir the potion with a sword, a spear, arrows, and, in later times, with the muzzle of a musket. Then one of them comes forward and imprecates evil upon the oath-breaker, the other feasters show their concurrence by signs, the chiefs of the two parties begin to drink the liquid, and the rest of the company drink after them. On a set day a feast is given in the other village, and the bond is then regarded as inviolable. This solemnity is called *pela* (Riedel, *op. cit.* p. 128 f.). Riedel does not give the terms of the imprecation, nor does he state the purpose for which the weapons are introduced. It is, however, instructive to observe that, in the Ceramese procedure, by way of oath for the discovery of crime, a *parang* and a little arrow-rust are introduced along with other symbols, and that an imprecation is pronounced upon the guilty person to the effect, *inter alia*, that his throat shall be cut with a *parang* and his body pierced with arrows (*ib.* p. 116). Further, in the Tanembar and Timor-Laut Islands, in making brothers, sea-water, palm-wine, and other ingredients, together with a small stone, or tooth, are poured into a bowl and mixed with the blood of the contracting parties. Dudilaa is invoked as witness to the covenant, and evils are imprecated upon the breaker of the bond. He shall be unstable as the sea, weak as a man drunk with palm-wine, and the like. Then the parties drink the liquor, and the stone or tooth is broken in two and preserved as a memorial or 'witness' (*ib.* p. 284). It is thought that these practices throw some light upon the symbolical meaning of weapons in the *pela* ceremony (see also Riedel, *op. cit.* p. 396, as to brother-making at Leti), and that a similar explanation applies to the two instances which

follow. Among the Wazaramo, Wazeguro, and Wasagara, the candidates for brotherhood seat themselves opposite to one another, their bows and arrows being placed across their thighs, 'whilst a third person waving a sword over their heads vociferates curses against any that may break the brotherhood' (Burton, *op. cit.* i. 114); and to the westward of Lake Tanganyika, after the transfusion of blood by inoculation had been completed, one of the proxies held a sword resting on his shoulder, while the other went through the motions of sharpening a knife upon it, both joining in pronouncing imprecations upon the oath-breaker (Cameron, *op. cit.* i. 333). A somewhat similar act formed part of the ritual among the Wakikuju, and was followed by imprecations (v. Höhnel, *Zum Rudolph-See und Stephanie-See*, Vienna, 1891, p. 341 f.; A. Arkell-Hardwick, *An Ivory Trader in North Kenia*, London, 1903, p. 147).

15. It is, of course, plain, from some of the examples of the ceremony with which we have been dealing, that the blood employed is not always that of the contracting parties (see C. Hose and W. McDougall, 'The Relations between Men and Animals in Sarawak,' in *JAI*, 1901, xxxi. 209; cf. p. 185). In very many cases it is that of their proxies (Livingstone, *op. cit.* p. 488; J. Thomson, *Through Masai Land*, new ed. London, 1887, p. 88; Cameron, *op. cit.* i. 333; Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent*, ii. 146, 332). Sometimes the 'brothers' shake hands, after having dipped them in the blood of a slaughtered animal (J. M. Schuver, *Reisen im oberen Nilgebiet*, Ergänzungsheft, No. 72, to *Peterm. Mittb.* p. 50), or they are marked with its blood—the blood of a pig among the Kinjahs (St. John, *op. cit.* i. 117, 75), of a goat among the Kumi of Chittagong (Lewin, *op. cit.* p. 228), of a goat or a heifer among the Shendoo (*ib.* pp. 315, 322). Sometimes they smear their lips with blood drawn from a bullock's ear (*Le Tcheou-Li, ou Rites des Tcheou*, tr. from the Chinese by E. Biot, Paris, 1851, i. 126, ii. 247 f.). Or the blood may be that of a human victim, either stupefied with drink, as among the wild tribes of Mexico (H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of N. America*, London, 1875, i. 636, 637; see below, § 48), or slain, as among the Danoms of Borneo (Schwaer, *op. cit.* ii. 77).

16. Some of these ceremonies are plainly sacrificial, and recall to us Herodotus' account of the formation of blood-brotherhood among the Arabs (iii. 8 [Rawlinson's tr.]). He tells us that, 'when two men would swear a friendship, they stand on each side of a third: he with a sharp stone makes a cut on the inside of the hand of each near the middle finger, and, taking a piece from their dress, dips it in the blood of each, and moistens therewith seven stones lying in the midst, calling the while on Bacchus and Urania.'

Robertson Smith identifies these divinities with Orotal and Alilat (*Rel. Sem.*<sup>2</sup> p. 316), and observes that at Mecca, within historical times, 'the form of the oath was that each party dipped their hands in a pan of blood and tasted the contents. . . . The later Arabs had substituted the blood of a victim for human blood, but they retained a feature which Herodotus had missed, they licked the blood as well as smeared it on the sacred stones. . . . The seven stones in Herodotus are, of course, sacred stones, the Arabic *ansab*, Hebrew *massaboth*, which, like the sacred stones at the Ka'ba, were originally Batyla, Bethels or god-boxes.' He adds that the essence of the rite was that the parties 'commingled their blood, at the same time applying the blood to the god or fetish so as to make him a party to the covenant also' (*Kinship*, etc., pp. 57, 59, 60).

17. In some of these sacrificial rites an exchange of garments or weapons or gifts forms a part. Thus St. John (*op. cit.* i. 117), in speaking of the Kayans, says that

'they sometimes vary the ceremony, though the variation may be confined to the Kinjahs, who live farther up the river, and are intermarried with the Kayans. There a pig is brought and placed between the two who are to be joined in brotherhood. A chief addresses an invocation to the gods, and marks with a

lighted brand the pig's shoulder. The beast is then killed, and, after an exchange of jackets, a sword is thrust into the wound and the two are marked with the blood of the pig.'

So, too, among the Wachaga, an exchange and re-exchange of clothing enter into the rite (Kohler, *Das Banturecht*, p. 40). Among the Kanowit Dayaks, 'a pig was placed between the representatives of the two tribes, who, after calling down the vengeance of the Spirits on those who broke the treaty, plunged their spears into the animal and then exchanged weapons' (St. John, *op. cit.* i. 55). Again, among the Dusuns, an exchange of weapons followed the ceremony, in which, having invoked his god, the chief and the traveller held the head and legs of a fowl, while a third person almost severed its head. The movements of the dying fowl were taken to indicate the intentions of the parties. Lastly, guns were fired and presents were given (Hatton, *op. cit.* p. 195; see below, § 20).

(b) *Where blood is not employed.*

18. We shall now proceed to consider the cases in which the use of blood does not enter into the ceremony; and, first of all, we shall deal with instances where the exchange of food forms an essential element in the ritual. Thus, among the Mapuches the compact is made by an exchange of names, one of the parties at the same time presenting a lamb to the other to be eaten by him (E. R. Smith, *The Araucanians*, New York, 1855, pp. 261, 262; see also E. Pöppig, *Reise in Chile, Peru, u. auf die Amazonenströme während d. Jahre 1827–1832*, Leipzig, 1835, i. 384 f., as to the Pehuenches). The Reschiät of Lake Rudolf make 'brothers' with strangers by eating pieces of the liver of a sheep together (A. Donaldson Smith, *Through Unknown African Countries*, London, 1897, p. 297; according to v. Höhnel, *op. cit.* p. 657, 660, they spit upon the sheep and pour milk upon it; see below, § 21); and of the Abors it is said that they 'hold as inviolate any engagement cemented by an interchange of meat as food. This is called *sengmung*. Each party to the engagement must give to the other some animal to be killed and eaten; it is not necessary that they should eat together, or that the feast be held at the same time' (Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 25). The latter part of this statement recalls the account of the Mapuches, given above, and that of the *magus* ceremony among the Khoi-Khoi. The parties to the rite last mentioned must be relatives. A man, for example, may enter into it with his sister's son or daughter. On a day fixed, the nephew sends a ewe or a cow to his uncle's house, where it is slaughtered. The ceremony itself is called *gao nais* ('navel-cutting'). The animal is divided between uncle and nephew, each of whom eats his share apart from the other—generally in his own house. The blood boiled with the kidney-fat forms the ceremonial food (cf. A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-east Australia*, London, 1904, p. 751), and of it only the parties and their nearest relatives partake, the rest of the flesh being eaten apart by strangers. After the meal the uncle gives the nephew his hand, promises to be a father to him, and asks him not to injure him in any way. Some days afterwards the uncle gives a feast in return. He slaughters an animal in the house of his sister—the mother of the man with whom he is entering into the *magus*—and afterwards gives him the best of his cows. The covenant draws the ties of relationship more closely together, but does not form a new bond (C. Wandrer, 'Die Khoi-Khoi oder Naman,' in H. S. Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika u. Ozeanien*, Berlin, 1903, p. 315 f.). The Beni take the oath of friendship by 'chopping juju.' A kola nut is placed on a brass tray with water poured on it. One of the parties touches himself with the

water and nut and eats part of it. Then the other party eats the remainder of it (R. H. Bacon, *Benin, the City of Blood*, London, 1897, p. 100). Again, among the Karens of Burma, brotherhood is made by eating together, or by planting a tree, or by exchanging blood. Of those methods, the first is said to be of but little binding force, being a mere agreement to abstain from hostilities for a certain time (Luther, *op. cit.* p. 313). The Bauris, Bagdis, and Mahilis admit into their caste men of any caste ranking higher than their own, on the candidate paying a small sum of money to the headman and giving a feast. He must taste a portion of the food left by each of the guests (H. H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal: Ethnographic Glossary*, Calcutta, 1891, ii. 41). Among the Mâls, he must give a feast, and drink water into which the headman has dipped his toes (*ib.* p. 49). When a man of the Murmi—a Mongolian caste in Nepâl—desires to make another man his brother, he intimates his feelings; and if these are reciprocated, presents are exchanged. A day is fixed for the ceremony, at which a Brâhman officiates. The men face one another, each with a rupee at his feet. They exchange the rupees, and each daubs the other's face with the mixture of rice and curds used in the marriage rite. The proceedings end with a feast. The tie thus formed is regarded as equivalent to that of actual kinship. 'The adopted brothers may not address or speak of one another by name, nor may they talk to each other's wives, even though these may have taken part in the ceremony. Their descendants, again, are supposed not to intermarry till seven generations have passed' (*ib.* p. 111). A somewhat similar account is given of the Limbus (*ib.* p. 16).

19. With the usages as to eating may be compared what Herodotus (iv. 172 [already quoted]) says of the Nasamonians: 'When they pledge their faith to one another, each gives the other to drink out of his hand; if there be no liquid to be had, they take up dust from the ground, and put their tongues to it.' In making friendship with the Wakikuju, the two parties threw water on their heads and caught and drank it as it fell (v. Höhnel, *op. cit.* p. 315f.); and it is said of the wild tribes of the Naga Hills that, when peace is concluded between the villages after a war, the chiefs meet face to face on opposite sides of a table raised on the roadside about eight feet from the ground, and approached on either side by a broad ascent, and exchange bamboo mugs of wine (R. G. Woodthorpe, 'Notes on the Wild Tribes inhabiting the so-called Naga Hills,' *JAI* xi. 211).

20. Not infrequently the bond is constituted by an exchange of garments or weapons. Thus, in Tahiti, the natives made friends by taking off a great part of their own clothes and putting them upon the voyagers (J. Cook in J. Hawkesworth, *An Account of Voyages in the Southern Hemisphere*, London, 1773, ii. 251). It is said of the villagers of the Gangotri valley in the country of the Teri Râja, that with them an exchange of caps is as certain a mark of friendship as an exchange of turbans between two chiefs in the plains (F. Markham, *Shooting in the Himalayas*, London, 1854, p. 108); and a similar statement is made regarding the Khamtis (H. B. Rowney, *The Wild Tribes of India*, London, 1882, pp. 162, 163); while the Masai are said to conclude peace by an exchange of clothing (Merker, *op. cit.* p. 101). Edmund of England entered into an intimate alliance with king Cnut by exchanging clothing and arms (du Cange, *Glossarium, ut cit. supr.*); and, according to the same authority (Diss. xxi. in Jean sire de Joinville (*ut cit. supr.*), where many other instances will be found), it was the practice of the Saracens to make friendships by

an exchange of arms. The case of Glaucus and Diomede (Hom. *Il.* vi. 235; see Tamassia, *op. cit.* p. 6 ff.) is, of course, familiar. Again, it is said of the Khamtis that 'by an exchange of weapons even the most deadly enemies become fast friends, and if one falls in fight, it is the duty of the other to avenge him' (Rowney, *op. cit.*); and Dalton (*op. cit.* p. 20) gives a like account of the Mishmis.

21. Sometimes the compact is formed by exchanging pieces of a slaughtered animal. Thus the Reschiât (see Donaldson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 297, referred to above, § 18) hang strips of its paunch on the necks of those with whom they are making friendship (P. Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas, Die materielle Cultur d. Dandâkîl, Galla, u. Somâl*, Berlin, 1893, pp. 249, 250), while the headman spits and whispers (v. Höhnel, *op. cit.* p. 660). Joseph Thomson gives an interesting account of a somewhat similar practice in Shira :

'A goat was brought, and, taking it by one ear, I was required to state where I was going, to declare that I meant no harm, and did not work in *uchawi* (black magic), and, finally, to promise that I would do no harm to the country. The other ear was then taken by the Sultan's ambassador, and he made promise on his part that no harm would be done to us, that food would be given, and all articles stolen returned. The goat was then killed, and a strip of skin cut off the forehead, in which two slits were made.' The Sultan's representatives 'taking hold of this, pushed it on my finger by the lower slit five times, finally pushing it over the joint. I had next to take the strip, still keeping it on my own finger, and to do the same for him through the upper slit. This operation finished, the strips had to be cut in two, leaving the respective portions on our fingers' (*op. cit.* p. 88).

The missionary Rebmann, who received this token of friendship from the king of Kilema, calls it 'kishogno' (J. L. Krapf, *Travels in Eastern Africa*, London, 1860, p. 238). Thomson's description of the rite explains what is said of the Wakamba—that the 'brothers' exchange rings made of the skin of a sacrificial victim, which they have eaten together (J. M. Hildebrandt, 'Ethnographische Notizen über Wakamba und ihre Nachbaren' in *ZE* x. 386). Further, Trumbull (*op. cit.* p. 66) quotes an Indian authority ('Tod's Travels,' *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, Singapore, 1851, No. 32) to the effect that among the Rajput races of India women adopt a brother by the gift of a bracelet; and with this custom may be compared the Slavonic practice of tying the 'brothers' together (see below, § 37).

22. Sometimes the ceremony consists in the application of saliva (see above, §§ 18, 21). The Southern Somali spits on his right hand and rubs it on the forehead of his friend to indicate that he is a fellow-tribesman; and among the Oromó, a like ceremony seems to entitle the guest to tribal rights (Paulitschke, *op. cit.* p. 246). In the old days, the Masai spat at the man with whom they swore eternal friendship (S. L. and H. Hinde, *The Last of the Masai*, London, 1901, p. 47); and, among the Dyoor, 'spitting betokens the most affectionate good-will; it was a pledge of attachment, an oath of fidelity; it was to their mind the proper way of giving solemnity to a league of friendship' (G. Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, tr. by E. E. Frewer, London, 1873, i. 205). A similar practice is said to prevail in Guiana (Lawrence Keymis, *Second Voyage to Guiana in the year 1596*; R. Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations . . . of the English Nation*<sup>2</sup> . . . London, 1598-1600, iii. 677), and in the Bissagos Archipelago, off Senegambia (E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, London, 1894-1896, ii. 264); and Grimm (*op. cit.* p. 194) observes that the old northern symbol of concluding peace was not blood but saliva (see Hartland, *op. cit.* ii. 258 ff., where many instances in which saliva is employed are collected).

23. A remarkable form of the practice is spoken to by Taplin (in J. D. Wood's *Native Tribes of*

*South Australia*, Adelaide, 1879, p. 32 ff.). He says in his account of the Narrinyeri that 'there appears to have existed a sort of traffic between the tribes on the Murray and those near the sea, and a curious sort of provision is made for it, the object of which may be the securing of perfectly trustworthy agents to transact the business of the tribes—agents who will not by collusion cheat their employers and enrich themselves. . . . When a man has a child born to him, he preserves its umbilical cord by tying it up in the middle of a bunch of feathers. This is called a kalduke. He then gives this to the father of child or children belonging to another tribe, and those children are thereafter ngia-ngiampe to the child from whom the kalduke was procured, and that child is ngia-ngiampe to them. From that time none of the children of the man to whom the kalduke was given may speak to their ngia-ngiamps or even touch or go near him; neither must he speak to them.'

We learn from the same authority (Taplin, in E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, London, 1886, ii. 254) that, 'if one ngia-ngiampe sees another in need of anything, he or she must send a supply of it if possible; but yet there must never be any direct personal intercourse between the two.' Sometimes the relation is entered into for a time only by dividing the kalduke and giving a part to each. When these parts are returned to the original owner, the relation ceases (Taplin, in J. D. Woods, *op. cit.* p. 33).

24. Many instances may be cited in which the compact is made by an exchange of names. This is the form observed by the Mapuches, one of the parties to the exchange at the same time presenting a lamb to the other, to be eaten by him.

'The giving of a name establishes between the namesakes a species of relationship which is considered almost as sacred as that of blood, and obliges them to render to each other certain services and that consideration which naturally belongs to relatives' (E. R. Smith, *op. cit.* p. 262; see also Pöppig, *op. cit.* i. 384 f. as to the Pehuences).

At Shupanga, on the Zambesi, the exchange of names with men of other tribes is not uncommon. The parties to the transaction regard themselves as close comrades, owing special duties to each other ever after; and each is entitled, if he visits the other, to food, lodging, and other friendly offices (D. and C. Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries*, 1858–1864, London, 1865, p. 149). In Ugogo names are exchanged as a pledge of friendship (C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *op. cit.* i. 60), and the practice is common in Polynesia (Hawaii [J. Cook and King, *A Voyage of Discovery to the Pacific Ocean in the years of 1777–1780*, London, 1784, iii. 17], Huahine [J. Cook, in Hawkesworth, *op. cit.* ii. 251]). It is said to be in use in the Marshall Islands (C. E. Meinicke, *Die Inseln d. stillen Oceans*, Leipzig, 1875–1876, ii. 342; A. von Chamisso, in O. von Kotzebue, *A Voyage of Discovery into the Southern Sea and Beering's Straits*, London, 1821, iii. p. 172, affirms that the friend is obliged to give his wife to his friend, but is not bound to avenge him); and it is found in the islands of Torres Straits (see *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, 1904, v. 125, 131 f.; see also J. B. Jukes, *Narrative of the Surveying Voyage of H.M.S. 'Fly'*, London, 1847, i. 209 f., where it seems that the exchange forms a bar to marriage between one of the parties and the sisters of the other), and among the Caribs (*Histoire naturelle et morale des Iles Antilles de l'Amérique*<sup>2</sup>, Rotterdam, 1681, p. 513), the Chopunnish (M. Lewis and W. Clarke, *Travels to the Source of the Missouri River . . . in the years 1804–1806*, new ed., London, 1815, iii. 254), the Spokanes (Bancroft, *op. cit.* i. 285, note), the Shastika Indians (S. Powers, *Tribes of California: Contributions to N. American Ethnology*, Washington, 1877, iii. 247), and the Chugachignuit of Alaska (N. Porlock, *A Voyage round the World . . . in 1785–1788*, London, 1789, p. 254; J. Meares, *Voyages made in the years 1788 and 1789, from China to the N.W. Coast of America*, London, 1790,

p. 365). It was at one time in use on the Lower Murray (G. F. Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, London, 1847, i. 59) and in New Zealand (J. S. Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, London, 1840, ii. 131). Of the natives at Wide Bay, Queensland, it is said (H. S. Russell, 'Exploring Excursion in Australia' in *JRGs*, 1845, xv. 314) that 'they rub their noses with their finger and mention their name, and you are then expected to follow the example by rubbing your nose and mentioning your name; then rub noses again with names exchanged.' The Kingsmill Islanders make friendship by rubbing noses and exchanging names (C. Wilkes, *Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition during the years 1838–1842*, London, 1845, iv. 51); and de Sainson gives a very similar account of the ceremony at Tonga (J. Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage de la Corvette 'L'Astrolabe': Histoire du Voyage*, Paris, 1830–1833, iv. 349). The Vanikoros exchange names and presents (*ib.* v. 329); and the same usage prevails in some parts of New Guinea (W. W. Gill, *Life in the Southern Isles*, London, 1876, p. 233; J. Chalmers and W. W. Gill, *Work and Adventures in New Guinea, 1877–1885*, London, 1885, pp. 42, 99). As to making 'brothers' with animals by exchange of names, see below, § 46.

25. Among the Yahgans of Cape Horn, artificial ties of friendship are constituted by an exchange of gifts, and by painting the face and body in a distinctive fashion. The friends assume the names of blood-relationship—uncle, brother, cousin, or nephew—and behave themselves as if they were really akin (T. Bridges, 'Mœurs et Coutumes des Fuégiens,' tr. by P. Hyades, *Bulletin de la Soc. d'Anthrop. de Paris*, 1884, ser. iii. vol. vii. p. 182). And this practice is not confined to males; for women, unconnected by blood, often call themselves sisters, and act as such in all the conduct of life (P. Hyades and J. Deniker, *Mission du Cap Horn, 1882–1883*, Paris, 1891, vii. 238). So, too, among the Ovaherero, persons of the same sex are frequently united in a formal association (*omapanga* or *oupanga*). The men have their wives in common, and are entitled to use each other's property in time of need; while married as well as unmarried women join the sisterhood (G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas*, Breslau, 1872, p. 227; G. Viehe, 'Die Ovaherero,' in S. R. Steinmetz, *op. cit.* p. 304; see also J. Kohler, 'Recht d. Herero' in *Zeits. f. vergl. Rechtsw.* xiv. 298–299). An interesting parallel to these female associations is furnished by the Orâons. 'When two girls feel a particular penchant for each other, they swear eternal friendship and exchange necklaces, and the compact is witnessed by common friends. They do not name one another after this ratification of goodwill, but are "my flower" or "my giu" or "my meet to smile" to each other to the end of their lives' (Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 253). A like custom exists among some of the Papuan tribes on the north coast of New Guinea (J. Kohler, 'Recht der Papuas' in *Zeits. f. vergl. Rechtsw.* xiv. p. 366), and in certain districts of the Abruzzi (E. S. Hartland, *op. cit.* ii. 218 f.). As to similar usages among the Southern Slavs see below, § 34.

26. Among the North American Indians, we find many examples of companionships in arms. Thus, of the Kongas and Omahas it is said that 'the young men are generally coupled out as friends; the tie is very permanent, and continues oftentimes through life' (Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains . . . in the years 1819–1820 . . . compiled from the notes of Major Long . . .* London, 1823, i. 117, 235; see also W. J. McGee, 'The Sioux Indians,' in *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bur-*

*eau of Ethnology to the . . . Smithsonian Inst. 1893-1894*, Washington, 1897, p. 178); the existence of a similar institution has been noted among the Wyandot (*First Annual Report . . . 1879-1880*, Washington, 1881, p. 68), and the Iroquois (P. F. X. de Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1744, vi. 14); and J. Adair (*The History of the American Indians*, London, 1775, p. 190) says that the Cherokees 'reckon a friend in the same rank with a brother both with regard to marriage and any other affair of social life.'

In Fiji,

'instances of persons devoting themselves specially to arms are not uncommon. The manner in which they do this is singular, and wears the appearance of a marriage contract: and the two men entering into it are spoken of as man and wife, to indicate the closeness of their military union. By this mutual bond the two men pledge themselves to oneness of purpose and effort, to stand by each other in every danger, defending each other to the death, and, if needful, to die together. In the case of one of the parties wishing to become married in the ordinary style to one of the other sex, the former contract is duly declared void' (T. Williams and J. Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians*, ed. G. S. Rowe<sup>2</sup>, London, 1860, i. 45-46).

Further, the custom of joining in companionships for mutual defence prevails among many of the Afghan tribes:

'Individuals enter into engagements to support each other in specific enterprises, or in all cases that may arise. These alliances are called Goondees, and they may include any number of persons. The connexion between two persons in the same Goondee is reckoned stronger than that of blood. They are bound to give up all they have, and even their lives, for each other. A Goondee between two chiefs is not dissolved even by a war between their tribes; they may even join in the battle, but as soon as the contest is over their friendship is renewed. Goondees also take place between tribes' (M. Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul . . .* new ed. London, 1839, ii. 4).

With these brothers in arms we may compare the Celtic 'Soldurii' and 'Ambacti,' whom Cæsar (*de Bell. Gall.* iii. 22, vi. 15) mentions.

27. Throughout all Circassia there exist fraternities and extensive associations, the members of which 'are bound mutually to protect each other, and assist in paying the fine of individuals who may commit manslaughter or other crimes.' In travelling, the members enter one another's houses 'as freely as if they were brothers in reality' (J. S. Bell, *Journal of a Residence in Circassia during the years 1837-1839*, London, 1840, i. 84). All the members of a fraternity are regarded as springing from the same stock; and not only they, but their serfs, are precluded from intermarriage (*ib.* p. 347).

28. J. Macgillivray (*Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. Rattlesnake*, London, 1852, i. 310) noted at Evans Bay, Cape York, the existence of an association between certain whites and certain natives, by which the latter appeared to be bound to assist the former and care for their safety. The native was said to be the white man's *kotaiga*—the term being derived from the Kowrarega word for 'younger brother.' The Kowrarega is an Australian tribe, altered by contact with the Papuans of the adjacent islands so as to resemble the latter in most of their physical, intellectual, and moral characteristics (Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 3, 11). We are not told how this relation was entered into, or whether it subsisted between natives, as well as between natives and whites. It may be that it is to be classed not with blood-brotherhood, but rather with those associations for the purpose of mutual assistance in trade of which an example is furnished by the Klaarwater Hottentots in their intercourse with some of the Bechuana tribes (W. J. Burchell, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, London, 1824, ii. 555; cf. R. F. Burton, *op. cit.* ii. 55; and J. Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of S. Africa*, London, 1868, i. 97, note).

29. In this connexion a curious belief of the Algonquins may be mentioned. They regarded the mingling of the bones of deceased relatives and

friends as constituting a bond of friendship between their descendants (S. de Champlain, *Oeuvres*, ed. by C. H. Laverdière, Quebec, 1870, v. 305), and Adair (*op. cit.* pp. 183-184) seems to indicate that the same notion prevailed among the Choctaws. He adds that they reckoned it irreligious to mix the bones of a relative with those of an enemy or even of a stranger (cf. Robertson Smith, *Kinship*, pp. 314, 315).

ii. Where the relation is due to force of circumstances.

30. Hitherto we have been considering artificial relations into which the parties enter by choice. We now turn to relations which are brought about by force of circumstances, and not by the volition of the 'brothers.' Livingstone (*Missionary Travels and Researches*, p. 526) tells us that he became blood-relation to a young woman by accident. As he was removing a tumour from her arm, he was spattered with blood from one of the small arteries. 'You were a friend before,' she exclaimed, 'now you are a blood-relation.' Some of the Papuan tribes on the north coast of New Guinea recognize the existence of a friendly bond between those who have been circumcised at the same time, especially between two youths who have occupied the spirit-house together. After the ceremony, they address one another no longer by name, but as 'my man' (J. Kohler, 'Recht d. Papuas' in *Zeits. f. vergl. Rechtsw.* xiv. 366; cf. Brooke, *op. cit.* ii. 224). Again, the rite of circumcision (*boguera*) is observed by the Bechuana and all the Kâfirs, south of the Zambesi. All the boys between ten and fourteen or fifteen are made the life-companions of one of the sons of the chief. The members of the band (*mopato*) recognize 'a sort of equality and partial communism ever afterwards, and address each other by the title of *molekane*, or "comrade." When a fugitive comes to a tribe he is directed to the *mopato* analogous to that to which in his own tribe he belongs and does duty as a member' (Livingstone, *op. cit.* pp. 147-148; see E. Casalis, *Études sur la langue séchuanais*, Paris, 1841, p. 70, as to the Basutos). Again, among the Kurnai, all the youths who have been initiated at the same time are brothers, and ever afterwards address each other's wife as 'wife,' and each other's children as 'child.' The tie thus formed is one of great strength, binding together all the contemporaries of the various clans (L. Fison and A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, Melbourne, etc., 1880, pp. 198-199). With this tie may be compared the relation between lads and those who operate on them in the initiation ceremonies (Spencer-Gillen<sup>a</sup>, pp. 248, 260). In some of the islands of Torres Straits, boys who are mates in the initiation ceremony may not marry each other's sisters (*Rep. of Camb. Anthr. Exp. to Torres Straits*, v. 211). It may be noted that at Nukahiva, professional tattooers were bound, under sanction of a tabu, to support those of their fellows who came to be in need (G. H. von Langsdorff, *Voyages and Travels in various parts of the World during the years 1803-1807*, London, 1813, i. 121).

31. Among the Wakamba, the relation of protector and protégé is one of extraordinary intimacy. The fugitive who touches the penis of his enemy becomes thenceforth entitled to his protection and to that of his tribe; and so strong is the bond between them, that the protégé is made free of the house and the wife of his protector (Hildebrandt, *loc. cit.* p. 386 f.). A form of oath in use in ancient Israel (Gn 24<sup>st</sup>. 47<sup>th</sup>; H. Ewald, *Die Alterthimer d. Volkes Israel*<sup>3</sup>, Göttingen, 1866, p. 26) and the Kâfir mode of making a vow (H. Somerset, *Adventures in Caffraria*, London, 1858, p. 180) may be recalled in this connexion, as well as a practice of some Australian tribes in swearing

friendship (G. Grey, *Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery in North-West and Western Australia*, London, 1841, ii. 342; cf. Spencer-Gillen<sup>b</sup>, pp. 558, 560; but see R. Brough Smith, *Aborigines of Victoria*, London, 1878, i. 514). Hildebrandt says further, that if a fugitive can succeed in putting his lips to a woman's breast, he thereby creates an indissoluble bond between himself and her tribe, which is thenceforth bound to protect him (*loc. cit. supra*).

### iii. The institution among the Southern Slavs.

32. We now propose to turn to a centre of the institution—to the countries of the Southern Slavs, where it is a living force admitted within the walls of the sanctuary by the recognition of the Christian Church. Here we shall meet with many forms, of which some are familiar and some are novel; and we shall commence with an instance in which blood-drinking plays a part. According to a Bosnian authority quoted by F. S. Krauss (*Sitte und Brauch d. Südlaven*, Vienna, 1885, p. 628), the priest offers up a prayer in which he dwells upon the reciprocal duties of the 'brothers.' He makes them kiss one another, and repeat after him the words of a solemn oath. Then the younger brother scratches his arm so as to draw a few drops of blood, which he mixes with wine. The brothers drink the liquid and the compact is sealed. Krauss doubts the accuracy of this account, but S. Ciszewski (*Künstliche Verwandtschaft bei den Südlaven*, Leipzig, 1897, pp. 60–68) accepts it as reliable, and adduces corroborative evidence from many other quarters. (See § 40 below.)

33. We are told (M. Chopin et A. Ubicini, *Provinces danubiennes et roumaines*, Paris, 1856, i. 197, cited by Ciszewski, *op. cit.* p. 32) of a brotherhood 'per arma,' known to Montenegro and Bulgaria. The two men who wish to enter into the compact go to a church, accompanied by several friends as witnesses. They lay their arms crosswise on the floor, and, after swearing that now they are united in life and death, take them up and exchange them. If one dies, his weapons pass to the survivor.

34. According to Medacović (cited by Ciszewski, *op. cit.* p. 33), the bond in Montenegro is one not of friendship only but of relationship—the parties to it are looked upon as actual brothers. He distinguishes three grades, of which the first is called the 'little brotherhood.' It is constituted by a kiss thrice repeated. The 'brothers' exchange gifts; and he who first expressed the wish to perform the rite entertains the other. 'Brothers' of this first degree may determine to form a still more intimate relation, and in such a case the ceremony is one of greater solemnity. They call a priest to say a prayer while they stand under the stola, and, having drunk wine from the chalice to which they set their lips at the same time, they eat a crumb of the bread, receiving the Eucharist in both kinds according to the observance of the Eastern Church. Having kissed the cross, the evangelists, and the holy pictures, they kiss one another thrice; and he who proposed the union entertains the other. Presents are exchanged, and the men are brothers until death. So, too, women, married as well as single, enter into similar friendships by drinking wine together, kissing one another, and exchanging gifts. A. Fortis (*Viaggio in Dalmazia*, Venice, 1774, i. 58 ff.) tells us that he was present in the church of Perusić when a union between two young Morlak girls was solemnized on the steps of the altar. He observes that in his day friendships of this sort between persons of different sexes were less common than they had been in the past. According to Krauss (*op. cit.* p. 641), the 'sisters' are always together—in church, at work, and in amusement. They wear similar clothes and ornaments, and address one another as 'little sister,'

'my gold,' 'my little fawn.' No relationship could be more intimate or more affectionate (see § 25 above, where parallel instances are noted).

35. In some parts of Croatia the bond seems to be formed without wine-drinking or witnesses; while, in Northern Bulgaria, the rite exhibits the characteristics of a family gathering, without the intervention of the Church. In some districts the ceremony resembles that of a marriage (Ciszewski, *op. cit.* pp. 35–36).

36. All the old ritual books prescribe the same, or nearly the same, formalities. The parties stand before the altar, the elder on the right, the younger on the left. The priest holds a candle to each. Each lays his right hand on the Gospels, and holds a cross in his left. According to another form, they stand before the altar with crosses and candles in their hands. The priest utters a prayer, in which the importance of the act is emphasized, the reciprocal duties of the brothers are laid down, and God's blessing is invoked upon them. Then the priest exchanges the crosses and candles which the brothers are holding in their hands, and reads to them certain passages of Holy Writ; and the brothers kiss the Gospels and embrace each other. It is only in Bulgaria that the exchange of candles and crosses takes place (*ib.* p. 37).

37. It is customary in one of the districts of Bulgaria for the priest to tie the men together with a small cord which he uses in saying Mass. He then takes off his vestments, and lays them on their heads; and, after having said a prayer suitable to the occasion, he sprinkles them with holy water, and, untying the cord, bids them kiss hands, telling them that they are henceforth brothers in spirit. This ceremony takes place at the end of Divine service, when the church is empty (*ib.* p. 38; see § 21 above, where parallel instances are noted).

38. Among the Bulgarians of Prilep, after the ceremony in church is over, one of the brothers entertains his relatives, with the other brother and his relatives, gifts being distributed among all who are present. A few days afterwards a similar meal is provided in the house of the other brother, and gifts are again distributed. All those who have received these gifts are henceforward regarded as relatives, and may not intermarry; and this kind of union may be contracted by men with men, by men with women, or by women with women (*ib.* p. 39).

39. In Little Russia, brotherhoods and sisterhoods are formed by swearing eternal friendship upon a holy picture, by drinking wine, and by exchanging gifts. In some parts of Russia a meal, to which the whole company is invited, completes the ceremony; and the brothers make it the occasion of an exchange of presents—very often of their baptismal crosses. Their children may not intermarry (*ib.* pp. 54–59).

40. From Servia, Croatia, and Bulgaria we are supplied with notices of ceremonies by which temporary bonds of brotherhood and sisterhood are constituted. These bonds continue from year to year, and form an actual relationship and a bar to intermarriage (*ib.* pp. 41–47). Parallel instances have been observed in Italy and among the Poles and Czechs (*ib.* pp. 48–50). In Servia and Croatia these unions are formed on St. John Baptist's day by the exchange of willow crowns and gifts and kisses. In Southern Bulgaria, on the same holy day, the brothers exchange bunches of twigs, with needles like the pine, in presence of their invited guests, and, having pricked themselves, suck each other's blood in order to show the intimacy of their union. Thenceforward they treat one another as if they were blood-relations. After this exchange of blood they approach the hearth and place their

feet upon it, the guests at the same time beginning the feast. Then the brothers embrace one another, kiss hands, and, exchanging the bunches of twigs, drink out of the same bowl. They give one another presents, and visit their friends and relatives. Upon the corresponding day of the next year the compact is renewed—the elder brother, who on the previous occasion was the younger brother's guest, being now his host (*ib.* p. 44 f., and see § 32 above).

41. In Bulgaria, a bond of brotherhood subsists between children who have been christened in the same water. Brothers or sisters born in the corresponding month in different years, and also twin children, are regarded as so intimately connected that the death of one involves that of the other. A ceremony is therefore necessary to break this connexion, and the person who performs it becomes, in consequence of his act, the brother or sister of the child saved from death. On similar grounds there is said to be a like tie between the person who rescues another from death by drowning, or on the battlefield, and the person rescued; between pilgrims who exchange certain kindly offices; between foster-brothers; and between those who attend upon a bride and bridegroom on the occasion of their marriage (Ciszewski, *op. cit.* pp. 4-22, 101 ff.).

42. Ciszewski (*op. cit.* p. 84 ff.) supplies two instances in which the relation was entered into in obedience to a Divine command; and Krauss (*op. cit.* p. 633) states that, if a man dream that he has made brotherhood with another, he will deem the latter's refusal to form the union as the bitterest of insults. In the ordinary case the dream becomes a reality, and the parties shake hands, kiss one another, and exchange gifts (see below, § 46).

43. Another form of brotherhood mentioned by Ciszewski (*op. cit.* p. 72 ff.) and Krauss (*op. cit.* p. 632) is that made between a man who is in extreme danger and another to whom he appeals for help in the name of God and St. John, at the same time taking him solemnly for his brother. An interesting example of this variety of the relation is given by Krauss (*op. cit.* p. 638). A girl who has to go over the mountains alone may invite the first man she meets to be her brother. He is bound to guard her as if she were his own sister; and, were he to illtreat her, he would be regarded as a criminal against Heaven.

#### iv. The institution in Roman and Byzantine law and in modern Greece.

44. It is interesting to notice the attitude which the Roman lawgivers assumed towards this institution. A rescript of the emperors Diocletian and Maximian (§ 7 c. *de Hered. Instit.* 6. 24) is in the following terms:

'Nec apud peregrinos fratrem sibi quisquam per adoptionem facere poterat. Cum igitur quod patrem tuum voluisse facere dicis iritum sit, portionem hereditatis, quam is aduersus quem supplicas velut adoptatus frater heres institute tenet, restituiri tibi curae habebit praeses provinciae.'

It seems clear that this rescript proceeds upon a confusion of the institution of brotherhood with that of adoption, and that the former, which was completely foreign to Roman ideas, was treated as if it were a monstrous form of the latter and declared to be of no force. The same view received effect in a collection of Syro-Roman laws (*Syrisch-römisches Rechtsbuch*, revised and edited by K. G. Bruns and E. Sachau, Leipzig, 1880), which belongs to the 5th cent. of our era. One of its provisions declares that, if a man wishes to write a compact of brotherhood with another so that they shall hold in common all that they possess or shall acquire, the law forbids it, and annuls the written compact. For their wives are not common, and their children cannot be common. So, too, the Byzantine lawyers of the 11th cent. refused to recognize *ἀδελφοποίησις*, or *ἀδελφοποίησις*,

*τροιγύλα* as binding. It was forbidden by the Church, especially to her monks; and the argument against it which found most favour was that of an archbishop of Bulgaria in the 13th century: *ἡ θεοί μυέτ τὴν φύσιν, ἡ φύσις δὲ οὐδὲ ἐπιγεγνώσκει διὰ γεννήσεως, ἀδελφοποίησις δὲ οὐδαμῶς*. Still, the ceremony was practised frequently and in many places; and although the Church forbade it, it was always celebrated with the Church's rites. Like sponsorship, it constituted a *πνευματική ἀδελφότης*, and created a marriage bar between the parties to it, and, according to some authorities, between their children (Bruns and Sachau, *op. cit.* pp. 255-256; Tamassia, *op. cit.* p. 63 ff.; Robertson Smith, *Kinship*, p. 160). It played an important part in the Greek war of independence, and is said even now to survive in certain districts of Greece (J. Kohler, 'Studien über die künstliche Verwandtschaft' in *Zeits. f. vergl. Rechtsw.* v. 438; Ciszewski, *op. cit.* p. 69).

v. Where the compact is entered into with women, dead persons, supernatural beings, or animals.

45. We have seen that the compact is not confined to males. Thus, among the Southern Slavs, men enter into it with women (Krauss, *op. cit.* pp. 619, 624, 638, 640), and women with women (*ib.* p. 641); and female associations are likewise found among the Yahgans, the Oräons, in certain districts of the Abruzzi, among the Papuans on the north coast of New Guinea, the Ovahero (see above, § 25), and the Swahili (Niese, *op. cit.* p. 240). Nor are these compacts always confined to mortals, if we may rely on the evidence of Bulgarian folktales and of the modes of address used by the fishermen of Ragusa to those whom they regard as witches (Ciszewski, *op. cit.* pp. 69-71; cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup>, London, 1900, iii. 380, note). In some cases the bond seems to be formed with a dead enemy. Thus, among the sea Dayaks, his head is brought on shore with much ceremony. For months after its arrival

'it is treated with the greatest consideration, and all the names and terms of endearment of which their language is capable are abundantly lavished on it; the most dainty morsels are thrust into its mouth, and it is instructed to hate its former friends, and that, having been adopted into the tribe of its captors, its spirit must be always with them; sirih leaves and betel-nuts are given to it—and, finally, a cigar is frequently placed between its ghastly and pallid lips. None of this disgusting mockery is performed with the intention of ridicule, but all to propitiate the spirit by kindness' (H. Low, *Sarawak*, London, 1848, p. 207).

46. This curious ceremony recalls to us the treatment of the dead bear by some of the Canadian Indians. According to Charlevoix (*op. cit.* v. 173), as soon as he has killed a bear, the hunter puts the mouthpiece of his lighted pipe between its teeth, blows into the bowl, and, having filled the animal's jaws with smoke, adjures its spirit not to resent what has happened nor thwart him in his hunting expeditions. With this account that of the festival of the bear among the Ainu may be compared (I. L. Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, London, 1880, ii. 97-98), and also that of Macrae ('Account of the Kookies or Lunctas' in *Asiatic Researches*, London, 1803, vii. 189) as to the revenge which the tribesmen take on the tiger, and even on the tree by which a relative has met his death (cf. E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*<sup>4</sup>, London, 1903, i. 286). In a Malagasy folk-tale we read of a bad man who was blood-brother of certain beasts (*FLJ*, London, 1883, i. 309); and in Sarawak a man sometimes dreams that he has become blood-brother of a crocodile by going through the regular ceremony and exchanging names. Thereafter he is quite safe from crocodiles (C. Hose and W. McDougall, *op. cit.* p. 190 f.; see above, § 42).

vi. What persons are bound by the compact.

47. In some cases the compact is obligatory only

upon those who have personally become parties to it. In Timor and Borneo, and among the Wachaga, a chief may represent his tribe, but a simple tribesman binds himself only (Forbes, *op. cit.* p. 452; Schwaner, *op. cit.* i. 214-215; Kohler, 'Das Banturecht,' *loc. cit.* xv. 40). Nor does the bond reach further in the *fatidrá* of Madagascar, in the old Northern ceremony of 'going under the turf,' in the companionships in arms of the American Indians, the Fijians and the Afghans, in the brotherhoods of the Syrians of the Lebanon (see above, §§ 13, 7, 26, 11) and of the Swahili (Niese, *op. cit.* p. 240), in the friendships of the Polynesians, Yahgans, Oráons, and the natives of the Abruzzi, and the Celts (see §§ 52, 25, 2, 8).

48. In many instances the participants in the rite bind not themselves only, but other persons on behalf of whom they act. Thus, among the Karenas of Burma, 'the chief stands as the representative of the tribe, if it be a tribal agreement; or the father as the representative of the family, if it be a more limited covenant' (Luther, *op. cit.* p. 313); and in Timor, the parties may be the representatives of families or tribes or kingdoms (Forbes, *op. cit.* p. 452). Chiefs bind their tribes amongst the wild peoples of the Naga hills (Woodthorpe, *op. cit.* p. 211), the natives of the Bismarck Archipelago (E. Sorge, 'Nissan-Inseln in Bismarck-Archipel,' in Steinmetz, *op. cit.* p. 405), in Borneo (Schwaner, *op. cit.* i. 214), and among the Wachaga (Kohler 'Das Banturecht,' *loc. cit.* xv. 40). Sometimes the chiefs take the principal parts in the ceremony, while their followers join only in its later stages; as, for example, by drinking what remains of the diluted blood, by participating in a common feast, or by receiving gifts from the 'brothers'; so with the Scythians (Herodotus, iv. 70), Balonda (Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches*, p. 488 f.), Ceramese (Riedel, *op. cit.* pp. 128-129), and Bulgarians (see above, § 38). In other cases the tribe is represented by a certain number of tribesmen (Garos and Kanowit Dayaks [see above, § 9], Bali of N. Cameroon [Hutter, *loc. cit.* p. 1]). A very curious instance of the representation of a tribe by a single tribesman is given by Bancroft (*op. cit.* i. 636-637). He says of certain Mexican tribes, that if one of them wished to make 'a close connexion, friendship, alliance, family or blood relationship' with another, its members seized a man of the latter tribe, and, having made him intoxicated, pierced his ears with awls and smeared themselves with his blood.

It is, of course, sufficiently obvious that the blood-brother of a chief may, in the general case, at all events, rely upon the good offices of the subjects of his protector, e.g. among the Kimbunda (Magyar, *op. cit.* i. 445). Among the Arabs, 'the compact is primarily between two individuals, but the obligation contracted by the single clansman is binding on all his "friends," i.e. on the other members of the kin' (Rel. Sem.<sup>2</sup> p. 315; see Herod. iii. 8, quoted above, § 16). By the Southern Slavs each participant is recognized as a near relative by the kinsmen of his chosen brother, the brotherhood being regarded as a true relationship (Krauss, *op. cit.* p. 624; Ciszewski, *op. cit.* pp. 99-101); and, among the Somali and Oromó, a stranger admitted to friendship becomes entitled to all the rights of a tribesman (Paulitschke, *op. cit.* p. 246).

#### vii. What purposes are served by the compact.

49. It is clear from what has already been said that the rights and duties which spring from this relation are not the same in all cases. In some the bond amounts to little more than a formal declaration of mutual goodwill. Thus the friendships between girls among the Oráons and in certain districts of the Abruzzi are strong and intimate, but they create no new tie (see above, § 25).

The *magus* ceremony is confined to relatives; it strengthens the natural bond, but does not form a fresh one (see above, § 18); while, among the Swahili, the sole effect of the relation is to establish an obligation between the members to help one another in time of danger (Niese, *op. cit.* p. 240). In other cases the brotherhood seems to effect a complete identification of interests, as, for instance, in the case of the Polynesian *taio* (see below, § 52). It may, however, be affirmed that it is of the essence of the obligation imposed upon the parties to act towards one another faithfully and helpfully as true friends and loyal brothers. Thus we find, among some of the Australian tribes, that

'the drawing and also the drinking of blood on certain special occasions is associated with the idea that those who take part in the ceremony are thereby bound together in friendship and obliged to assist one another. At the same time it renders treachery impossible' (see above, § 2).

The same authorities add that the men taking part in the *atninga* avenging expedition of the Arunta tribe

'assembled together, and, after each one had been touched with the girdle made from the hair of the man whose death they were going out to avenge, they drew blood from their urethras and sprinkled it over one another' (Spencer and Gillen, *The Northern Tribes*, p. 598, cf. p. 558 ff.). 'Sometimes, for the same purpose, blood is drawn from the arm and drunk, and on rare occasions a man, declining thus to pledge himself, will have his mouth forced open and the blood poured into it' (ib. p. 598).

Among the Hungarians of the 9th cent. the chief men, in taking the oath of fealty to the chief, signified, by shedding their blood into a single bowl, that the blood of the oath-breaker should be shed as theirs had been (J. G. Schwandtner, *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, Vienna, 1746, i. 6). Again, it is said of the Karenas that, when individuals, villages, or clans unite in confederacies,

'the contracting parties bind themselves by drinking spirits in which the blood of both has been mixed, and in which a number of weapons have been dipped. The blood of each is supposed to live as an agent or ambassador in the blood of the other, and thus to prevent treachery. The weapons are likewise invoked to prevent treachery' (Smeaton, *op. cit.* pp. 168-169).

The same notion underlies the brotherhood between the king of Unyoro and his servants, especially his cooks (Emin Pasha in *Central Africa*, ed. G. Schweinfurth, Eng. tr., London, 1888, p. 78), the oaths of those making a league or conspiracy, and the *ngia-ngiampé* relation of South Australia (see above, §§ 2, 8, 23). So, too, among the Melangkaps, the object of making brothers by exchange of gifts was to ensure that the Europeans should not cease to be friendly and injure the natives when at a distance from them (J. Whitehead, *Explor. of M. Kina Bahu, N. Borneo*, London, 1893, p. 123).

50. The members of the companionships of the old Norsemen were bound to avenge one another as if they were truly brothers (see above, § 7), and a like obligation is imposed on those who have entered into brotherhood in Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Bosnia (Ciszewski, *op. cit.* p. 89). Among the Wyandot, the youthful braves 'agree to be perpetual friends to each other, or more than brothers. Each reveals to the other the secrets of his life, and counsels with him on matters of importance, and defends him from wrong and violence, and at his death is chief mourner' (1 RBEW, p. 68; see § 26 above, where references to similar statements regarding other tribes will be found). So, too, the Afghan tribesmen who join in 'goondees' for mutual defence and support are regarded as more than natural brothers (see above, § 26); and the Fijian brotherhood in arms wears the appearance of a marriage contract (*ib.*)—a characteristic which may be compared with that of the bond of the 'nazil,' which can be dissolved only by the formula of triple divorce (R. F. Burton, *First Footsteps in East Africa*, London, 1856, p. 124). The parties to the blood-rite among the Balonda become 'perpetual friends and relations' (Livingstone, *Missionary*

*Travels and Researches*, p. 488); and it has been observed (Wilson and Felkin, *op. cit.* ii. 41; cf. Grant, *op. cit.* p. 271; F. L. James, *The Wild Tribes of the Soudan*<sup>2</sup>, p. 91) that, if an African be your blood-brother, you may really trust him. 'This contract is never broken.' Among the Somali and Oromó, the saliya ceremony secures to the stranger a tribesman's rights (Paulitschke, *op. cit.* p. 246), while, among the Karen, the blood-covenant

'is of the utmost force. It covers not merely an agreement of peace or truce, but also a promise of mutual assistance in peace and war. It also conveys to the covenanting parties mutual tribal rights. If they are chiefs, the covenant embraces the entire tribe. If one is a private individual, the immediate family and direct descendants are included in the agreement. I never heard of the blood-covenant being broken. The blood-covenant gives even a foreigner every right which he would have if born a member of the tribe' (Luther, *op. cit.* p. 314).

### viii. What legal consequences flow from the compact.

51. In certain cases the relation of brotherhood operates as a bar to marriage. Thus it is said of the Cherokees (see above, § 26) that they 'reckon a friend in the same rank with a brother, both with regard to marriage and any other affair of social life.' So, too, Lery ('Historia navigationis in Bresiliam,' cap. 16, in *De Bry, Americae tertia pars*, Frankfort, 1592) says that among certain Brazilian tribes 'nemo eorum matrem, sororem, vel filiam in uxorem dicit; reliquorum ratio nulla habetur; patruus neptem dicit; atque ita deinceps. Tamen . . . nemo filiam aut sororem sui *Atourassap* matrimonio sibi jungere potest. Is autem *Atourassap* dicitur cuius tanta est cum quodam necessitudo ut bona inter utrumque sint communia.'

In some of the islands of Torres Straits a man may not marry the sister either of his particular friend or of his comrade in the ceremony of initiation (Haddon, *JAI* xix. 411–412, 315, 356); nor may those intermarry who take part in the *pela* ceremony of Ceram, or in the friendly associations of individuals or villages at Wetar (Riedel, *op. cit.* pp. 128–129, 446–447; see above, § 14). Among the Murmi a similar bar subsists between the brothers (see above, § 18); it is said of the Kanakas of the Bismarck Archipelago, that if two chiefs enter into an artificial relationship, their peoples are precluded by the closeness of the connexion from intermarriage (Joachim Graf Pfeil, *Studien u. Beobachtungen aus der Südsee*, Brunswick, 1899, p. 26); and a like prohibition affects those who are *ngua-ngiampe* to one another, and the brothers and even the serfs of a Circassian fraternity (see above, §§ 23, 27). Ciszewski, to whose work reference must be made for details, observes that, among the Southern Slavs, the institution of brotherhood is giving way to the influence of modern ideas; and that, if we were to gather from the different districts the various notions held regarding its legal and social consequences, we should be able to construct a complete scheme of the stages through which it has passed. Thus, in some cases, the relationship does not constitute a bar to marriage; in some, it makes a marriage impossible not only between the parties to the rite, but between their children; while, in Prilep, it precludes marriage not only between the parties and between their children, but between those of their relatives who participated in the distribution of gifts at the time of the ceremony (Ciszewski, *op. cit.* pp. 86, 94, 99–100; see above, § 38). We have in the last case, as Ciszewski observes, an interesting example of a collective brotherhood. The rite is performed by the representatives of the two kindreds; but that the relatives are also included in the association by accepting presents from the principals is shown by the fact that they may not intermarry.

52. According to Forbes, if one of the members of a Timorese brotherhood comes to the other brother's house, he 'is in every respect regarded as free, and as much at home as its owner. Nothing is withheld from him; even his friend's wife is not

denied him, and a child born of such a union would be regarded by the husband as *his*' (*op. cit.* p. 452). By the terms of the compact of the *fatidrá* the brothers enjoyed community of wives and property; although, in later times, and in the case of Europeans, those obligations may not have been treated as literally binding (Ellis, *History of Madagascar*, i. 190). So, too, the members of the *omapanga* of the Ovaherero, and, according to A. von Chamisso, 'brothers' in the Marshall Islands have their wives in common (see above, §§ 25, 24); and in the countries of the Kimbunda, and among the Wakamba, the brothers exercised mutual privileges over wives and property (Magyar, *op. cit.* i. 201–202; Hildebrandt, *op. cit.* p. 387). Ellis (*Polynesian Researches*, London, 1831, iii. 124) observes that the wife of every individual is the wife also of his *taio*, or friend; and an earlier authority (W. Wilson, *A Missionary Voyage to the S. Pacific Ocean in 1796–1798, in the ship 'Duff,' commanded by Capt. James Wilson*, London, 1799, p. 359), in making a similar statement, adds that a *taio* 'must indulge in no liberties with the sisters or the daughters, because they are considered as his own sisters, and incest is held in abhorrence by them; nor will any temptation engage them to violate this bond of purity.' Further, it is said, on the testimony of Lieut. Corner, a previous observer, that the relation of *taio* formed between persons of different sexes operated as an absolute bar to all personal liberties. The later missionaries, however, doubted the accuracy of Corner's evidence, at all events in regard to the Tahitians of their time (*ib. cf. § 43 above*). Lastly, the provisions of the Syro-Roman law (see above, § 44) point to a compact, the parties to which held their wives and children in common.

### ix. General observations on the nature and history of the institution.

53. We have seen in the preceding pages that the form of the rite by which the bond is constituted is not always one and the same. In some cases the use of blood is the only requisite; in some it is an essential element; in some it is a mere accessory; and in some it does not enter into the ceremony. And the question presents itself—Is the blood-rite the original type of which other forms are variations, or is it itself but one of the forms in which the need of man for union with, and security against, his fellow found expression? It is, no doubt, true that, in many instances, the use of the blood, while it is of the essence of the solemnity, is accompanied or followed by some other ritual act or acts, such as an exchange of food or weapons or garments or other gifts; and it has been argued that a form in which the performance of such act or acts is sufficient without the use of blood for the completion of the rite is a maimed form, which has lost what was originally essential and retained only what was originally of secondary importance. Such an explanation, however, hardly meets the case: for it does not account for those modes of entering into the compact with which the blood-rite is never found in connexion. It suggests, of course, that even in those cases the use of blood at one time formed part of the ceremony; but there is no evidence to that effect. Now, in the instances which we have adduced, we have found that the parties to the compact are brought together in a great number of different ways. They exchange blood or wine or food or names or garments or weapons or rings of the skins of sacrificial victims or gifts of some sort or kind. Or they dip their hands or their weapons in one another's blood or in the blood of the sacrifice, or shake hands smeared with blood, or let the blood mingle as it falls to the ground. Or they join in holding the victim during the sacrifice, or hold branches while an imprecation is being pronounced or blood

is being let. Or one of them rubs the other with his saliva; or a father makes his child *ngia-ngiampe* to another's child. Or, lastly, the union may be due to community of aim and interest, as in the case of companions in arms; or to circumstances beyond the control of the parties, as in the case of those who are initiated together, or associated as operator and patient in the performance of the initiatory rite; or to the pressure of an overwhelming necessity, as in the case of the fugitive and his protector. It is to be observed that it is quite in accordance with primitive ideas to regard 'the nature of anything as inhering in all its parts' (H. Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, London, 1879, ii. § 346), even when the parts are separated from it (cf. E. Durkheim, 'La Prohibition de l'inceste et ses origines,' *L'Année sociologique*, i. 51); and to treat as parts of a man's substance not only his blood, saliva, umbilical cord, sweat, and other *excreta*, hair, nail parings, and the like, but also his garments, weapons, and name. To our thinking, blood is, weapons are not, vitally connected with the man himself; but, to the mind of the savage, the connexion is of the same quality in either case.

As an illustration of this mode of thought, it may not be out of place to indicate here a feature of primitive 'giving' which sharply distinguishes it from its modern counterpart. It is hardly an exaggeration to say generally of uncivilized man what has been said of the Western Eskimo—that 'a free and disinterested gift is wholly unknown to him.' The gift is regarded as an investment, and a return is expected (see P. J. H. Grierson, *The Silent Trade*, Edin., 1903, p. 18). But it seems probable that this conception has its origin elsewhere than in the desire to lose nothing by the transaction. It is rooted rather in the notion that, unless a return be made, the recipient obtains a power over the donor which he may use to the latter's injury. 'Payment,' says Hartland (*op. cit.* ii. 75; cf. Crawley, *op. cit.* pp. 236-245, 256-257), 'is always held to neutralise a witch's power over a person through something received from him'; and instances are not wanting in which savages have refused to touch the articles set out by traders for their acceptance, until the latter have taken what was offered to them (see GIFTS). Accordingly, an exchange of weapons no less than of blood is regarded as an exchange of very substance, and as establishing between the parties 'an actual community of nature' (H. Spencer, *loc. cit.*; see Hartland, *op. cit.* ii. 55-116, 442 and *passim*). This community is brought about not only by an interchange of externals, but by the devotion of the parties to a course of conduct which demands an absolute identity of aims and interests, or by outward circumstances which force them into an intimate contact. In other words, they enter voluntarily or involuntarily into a relation in which each is regarded not by way of metaphor or fiction, but in very truth, as the *alter ego* of the other. Now, it has been said that, according to primitive notions, blood-brotherhood 'is not a relationship personal to the two parties alone, but extends to the whole of each clan: my brother is, or becomes, the brother of all my brethren; the blood which flows in the veins of either party to the blood-covenant flows in the veins of all his kin' (F. B. Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion*<sup>2</sup>, London, 1902, p. 99; cf. W. R. Smith, p. 315).

We seem, at first sight, at all events, to be in the presence of two conflicting theories. First of all, we have what we may call the 'identity-theory,' which regards the bond as personal to the parties to it, and explains the blood-rite not as the typical form, but as one of many forms; and, secondly, we have what we may call

the 'kinship-theory,' which regards the bond as a union of kins, and explains all forms, other than that of the blood-rite, as variations, or modifications, or deteriorations of it (see Hartland, *op. cit.* ii. p. 248 ff.; esp. p. 257). It must be admitted that the evidence which bears upon the claims of those rival views is, in some respects, very imperfect. Not infrequently we are supplied with full details of the ceremonies performed, while we are left wholly in the dark as to the legal incidents of the bond. In other cases, we are told what is its operation, but not a word is said as to the ritual accompanying its formation. For example, we have no facts before us to show how the compact was constituted in the case of the Brazilian *Atiourassap*, or in that of the Ovaherero *omapanga* (see above, §§ 51, 25). At the same time, facts are reported which seem to be hardly reconcilable with the 'kinship-theory' as stated. It is, for instance, clear that in many cases the obligations undertaken bind only those persons who are parties to the compact. Thus the Yahgans of Cape Horn enter into formal friendships by exchanging gifts, by painting themselves in a distinctive fashion, and by assuming one or other of the titles of blood-relationship (see above, § 25). There is no evidence to show that the reciprocal rights and duties of the friends extend to persons other than themselves, or that, by assuming such titles, they mean to do more than emphasize the intimacy of the relation between them. And that this is their meaning is made the more probable by a somewhat analogous instance from Fiji, where comrades in war 'are spoken of as man and wife, to indicate the closeness of their military union.' So, too, the compact which subsists between those who are companions in arms, or who have exchanged names, or who are *ngia-ngiampe* to each other, seems to be strictly personal, even where they are regarded as subject to certain marriage prohibitions, as among the Cherokees, some of the islanders of Torres Straits, the natives of Tahiti, and the Narrinyeri (see §§ 26, 24, 51, 23). The effect of the *lacu*-relationship will be noted below.

In the cases already mentioned, blood is not used in the ceremony; but there are cases in which it is used, and in which only the parties to the bond are affected. We have, for example, the temporary blood-bond, such as that which unites the members of a league, or of an Arunta punitive expedition (see above, § 2). In either instance, its purpose is to prevent treachery; in neither is it productive of a union of kins; and the same observations apply to those who join in 'going under the turf' (see above, § 7). In Timor and Borneo, and among the Wachaga, while a chief may represent his tribe, a simple tribesman binds himself only; and other examples of a like limitation have already been given (see above, § 47). In some of these cases the parties are entitled to share in one another's most sacred rights (see above, § 52); and that these privileges are not necessarily connected with the use of blood in the constitution of the bond, appears from the instance of the Polynesian *tatio* and that of the Wakamba fugitive (see above, §§ 52, 31). At the same time it is quite true that sometimes they are found as consequents of a pact solemnized with blood, as in the cases of the Kimbunda and of the natives of Timor and Madagascar (see above, §§ 3, 13, 52). Thus friend is identified with friend; each is entitled to share the other's wife and property; each must regard and treat the other's sisters and daughters as if they were his own. At the same time, the relation is, in its inception at all events, a union of individuals and not a union of kins. The case of the Wakamba is peculiar. The fugitive, by a solemn act, acquires a right of participation in his pro-

tector's wife and house, and a claim on the support and assistance of his protector's tribe (see above, § 31). Here the relation extends beyond the parties to it, and is at the same time accompanied by privileges which are strictly personal to them. It may be thought that this instance presents to us the two theories in combination—the theory that the parties are made one, with the result that they, and they alone, enjoy certain intimate rights; and the theory that they are made kinsmen, with the result that the fugitive can rely upon the assistance of the tribe to which his protector belongs. This view receives some confirmation from a curious mode of peace-making practised by the Masai. One of their women proceeds with her infant to the border of the tribe with whom peace is to be concluded—the Kahe, for example—and meets there a Kahe woman with her infant. The women exchange their children in the presence of witnesses, and each puts the stranger child for a moment to her breast. Then each takes back her child, and each, having been cut by one of the witnesses, smears the blood from her wound on a piece of a hullock's heart and thrusts it into the other's mouth. During these proceedings the Masai representative and the Kahe headman make protestations of mutual goodwill, and imprecate evil upon the breaker of the compact (Merker, *op. cit.* p. 101). Here we have a rite compounded of an adoption ceremony and a brotherhood ceremony; and this instance suggests an explanation of the fact that among the Mapuches, a father, by making a stranger his son's *laco*, or namesake, adopts him into his family (E. R. Smith, *op. cit.* pp. 260–262; see above, § 24). The parties become relatives by virtue of an exchange of names, and of giving food and eating what is given; and it may be that, in this case, the first of the theories above mentioned has yielded to the second—that the 'kinship-theory' has displaced the 'identity-theory.' Further, it is not without significance that, so far as we know, the blood-rite, as productive of a relationship which extends to the whole clan, is not to be found among the rudest peoples, such as the Yahgans of Cape Horn, the Botocudos, the Andaman Islanders, the Semangs, and Aetas, the Kubus of Sumatra, the Veddas of Ceylon, the dwarf races of Central and Western Africa, the Hottentots and Bushmen, and the natives of Australia, while the use of blood and other *media* is found among some of them in the formation of compacts creative of rights and duties which affect only the persons immediately concerned.

54. Plainly it is matter of no small difficulty to determine what is the relation of these two theories to one another; and, accordingly, we shall content ourselves with an attempt to indicate the direction in which the evidence points. Now, it seems to show that the relation with which we are dealing was not primarily and essentially a relation of kins. We are not concerned to affirm or deny that the tie which held men together in the earliest times known to us was the tie of blood. What we do assert is that primarily and essentially this relation was strictly personal to the parties to it. They might be forced into it by the pressure of external circumstances, or they might enter into it of their own free will. They might be kinsmen, as we count kinship, or they might be strangers in blood. But, whether akin or not, they were somehow brought into a contact so intimate that they became, in the eyes of their fellows, possessed of a common nature. The logical result of this community was that each of the parties became entitled to the rights and subject to the disabilities of the other. Each had a right to share the other's wife and property; each was precluded, wherever marriage of a sister

by a brother or of a daughter by a father was prohibited, from marrying the other's sisters or daughters. These marriage bars, even if they did not owe their origin to a recognition of the principle of blood-relationship, were plainly susceptible of being referred to it, and accounted for by it, when it came to be recognized; and this explanation would appear most natural when the use of blood entered into the formation of the bond. Accordingly it would hardly be matter of surprise that, where circumstances favoured the change, the 'kinship-theory' gradually encroached upon the 'identity-theory' and finally usurped its place.

55. What, it may be asked, is the nature of the sanction which supports the compact? It cannot have escaped observation that, in many instances at all events, the institution with which we are dealing closely resembles an oath or an ordeal (see above, § 7). An oath consists in general of two parts—of an asseveration that what is said is true, or that what is undertaken will be performed, and an imprecation of evil by the person taking the oath upon himself, if he prove forsaken. Sometimes a divinity is invoked not merely to bear witness to the oath, but to punish the oath-breaker. Sometimes mere things, such as weapons, are introduced into the ceremony to symbolize the evil which will fall upon the perjured person—he will be cut down with a sword, or pierced with an arrow, or run through with a spear. What Polybius (iii. 25) says of the oath with which the treaties between Rome and Carthage were solemnized is very instructive. The Carthaginians swore by the gods of their country. The Romans swore 'in accordance with ancient custom' and in addition by Mars and Quirinus. He who made oath 'according to ancient custom' took a stone in his hand and said—'If I keep faith, may I fare well; but if I knowingly deceive, then may I, while all other men are assured of their right to their country, their laws, their gods, and their sepulchres, be alone cast out as I now cast out this stone'; and, with these words, he cast the stone away. It seems plain that we have here an account of two forms. In the later form the gods are invoked to be witnesses to the oath, and to punish the oath-breaker. In the earlier form the gods are not invoked, and the stone is thrown away to signify the fate of the false swearing (see H. A. A. Danz, *Der sacrale Schutz*, Jena, 1857, p. 13 ff.; O. Schrader, *Reallexikon d. indogerm. Alterthumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, p. 163; cf. Grimm, *op. cit.* p. 897; B. W. Leist, *Grieco-italische Rechtsgeschichte*, Jena, 1884, pp. 226 f., 703 f.). In many instances an act of touching is an essential part of the ceremony. Thus, in the Indian form, the man who took the oath by touching himself drew down the powers of evil upon his head (Schrader, *op. cit.* p. 167); and, in old Germany, he must touch some object which brought him into relation either with the gods whom he invoked, or with the punishment which followed upon perjury. In Scandinavia the oath-breaker touched a ring smeared with blood and consecrated to a divinity; and it was in accordance with a very ancient German practice that a man swore by his sword; while Christians swore by the cross, by relics, and by book and bell (Grimm, *op. cit.* p. 895 f., where many other forms will be found). Sometimes an animal was slaughtered to show how the perjurer would be dealt with—'Juppiter populum Romanum sic ferito, ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam; tantoque magis ferito, quanto magis potes pollesque' (Livy, i. 24. 8). See on oaths A. H. Post, *Grundriss d. ethnologischen Jurisprudenz*, Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1895, ii. 478 ff., and art. OATHS.

56. When we turn to the bond of friendship, and

examine the cases in which blood is employed in its constitution, we find varieties in form, remarkably similar to those which we have been discussing. Sometimes the gods are adjured to punish those who break the compact (see above, §§ 10, 11), or simply to be witnesses to it (see above, §§ 7, 13, 14, 16). Sometimes they are made parties to it (see above, §§ 8, 16), or are invoked while an animal is being slaughtered (see above, §§ 10, 17). In other cases, the parties touch the blood (see above, §§ 7, 8), or dip their weapons in it (see above, §§ 9, 14), or touch or hold an animal while one of them slays it (see above, §§ 10, 13). Weapons or other articles are often introduced into the ceremony either as a 'witness' of the compact (see above, § 13) or as a symbol of the punishment which awaits the breaker of it (see above, § 14, and cf. § 33); and imprecations are frequently pronounced without any direct appeal to a supernatural power (see above, §§ 9, 10, 13, 14, 53). In some cases, as among the Bali, the rite consists of two parts,—of a blood-rite effecting the formation of the bond, and of a blood-rite with the operation of an oath,—while, in other cases, as among the Bendowen Dusuns, the oath stands alone (see above, § 13). There are instances, however, in which the ceremony consists of drinking or sprinkling blood without invocations or imprecations (see above, §§ 2, 49). In this connexion, Junker's (*op. cit.* p. 405; see above, § 5) account of the rite as practised by certain tribes south of the Welle is very instructive. The parties sit opposite to one another. A scratch is made on the chest of each, and a drop of blood is squeezed out. Each wipes the blood off the other with a piece of sugar-cane, which he chews, and the fibres of which he afterwards blows over his wound. At the same time, he repeats the points which have induced him to enter into the compact, and which are to be kept sacred; and at the end of each clause he adds the solemn words: 'If thou dost not hold to this, may my blood destroy thee' (cf. § 49). Here, then, we have an instance of a relation in which blood is the medium not only of formation, but of punishment (see Westermarck, *MI*, London, 1908, ii. 206 ff., 566 ff.). We have, in other words, an example of the operation of the principle which underlies the oath and the ordeal. That the same principle operates in cases in which the blood of the parties is not employed appears from such instances as that of the Beni, where the parties make friendship by eating portions of the same fruit or vegetable, and touching themselves ceremoniously with it before they eat (see above, § 18); or as that of the natives of Shira, where the 'brothers' hold a goat while it is being slaughtered, and fit rings of its skin upon one another's fingers (see above, § 21). A further confirmation is furnished by the cases in which the formation of the compact is due not to the volition of the parties, but to the force of external circumstances. The bond between them is of so intimate a character—the union between them is so complete—that its rupture cannot fail to be productive of evil consequences to the man who breaks it; and thus the sanction has its origin not in the intention of the parties, but in the essential character of the relation. It may well be that, in many instances, the sole punishment which awaits the false 'brother' is that which follows a breach of tribal custom or an outrage on public opinion. Still, it appears to be not improbable that, even in these instances, tribal custom and public opinion owe their force to a sanction of the nature indicated above.

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BROTHERHOODS.—Brotherhood, in its literal sense, is the condition in which a male person is descended from the same father or mother as one or more other persons; full brotherhood, that in which he is descended from the same father and the same mother as one or more other persons. Thus the sons of Jacob by his two wives and by their two handmaids together address their unknown brother Joseph: 'Thy servants are twelve brethren, the sons of one man in the land of Canaan' (Gn 42<sup>18</sup>). In theology, the term is metaphorically applied in two senses: the general sense in which all men are brethren, sometimes limited to those who are of the same faith, as when St. Peter says, 'Honour all men; love the brotherhood' (1 P 2<sup>17</sup>); and the particular sense in which it signifies persons living together in artificial communities as natural brothers live together in families before they leave the family home to establish families of their own. The ideal of brotherhood is one of the closest of all human relations—the only one that implies equality—there being no difference between brothers other than that arising from age.

The system of living in cloistral communities with a religious object belongs to the Brāhmaṇ religion, and was adapted by Śākyamuni to the Buddhist religion, and has been largely imported into Christianity. Under it, men have retired from the world by hundreds and by thousands. The grand Buddhist monastery of Nālanda, consisting of six convents, had ten thousand monks. They employed themselves chiefly in the study of the books of their religion and of science, especially medicine and arithmetic. In Ceylon, the monks take upon them vows not to kill, not to rob, to observe celibacy, not to lie, not to drink strong liquors, not to take food after noonday, not to dance or sing or make music; to use no perfumes, unguents, or ornaments; to have no luxurious bed or chair, and never to possess gold or silver. The general idea involved in these communities or brotherhoods is that of a simple and studious life, devoted mainly to the contemplation of religious subjects, and existing in circumstances of self-denial and asceticism—an ideal which has rarely been maintained for long in its original vigour.

The Buddhist monastic system has been practised from ancient times in Tibet. The monastery is there termed *gompa*, or 'solitary place.' Lhasa, the centre of religion in Tibet, was till recently inaccessible to Europeans, although it had been visited by Sarat Chandra Das and other Hindus. One of the most ancient and famous of the monasteries in the neighbourhood is that of Samye, visited by Chandra Das in 1882. It contains a chief temple, Wu-tse, four minor temples, and eight lesser shrines, the dwellings of the monks being in a two-storeyed building near the chief temple. The grand monastery of Tashi-Lhumpo is another, and a sketch of it has been published by the Royal Geographical Society. Here the monks are summoned by a trumpet to the great hall for prayers at 3 a.m. At the lamasery of Yarlung Shetag live 40 monks and as many nuns, whose children are brought up to succeed them. This is allowed because of the loneliness of the situation of the lamasery. In the *gompas* at Lhasa there are said to be 15,000 lamas, and in the province of Amdo nearly 30,000 in 24 lamaseries; and it is estimated that one-seventh of the entire population belong to the priesthood. The lamasery of Kumbum has a